



John Waldie

*Topography,
Travels, &c.*

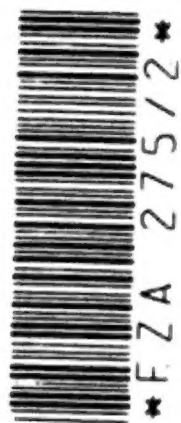
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THE
LIFE AND ADVENTURES
OF
NATHANIEL PEARCE,

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF,

DURING

A RESIDENCE IN ABYSSINIA,

FROM THE YEARS 1810 TO 1819.

TOGETHER WITH

MR. COFFIN'S ACCOUNT OF HIS VISIT TO GONDAR.

EDITED BY

J. J. HALLS, ESQ.

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IN TWO VOLUMES.

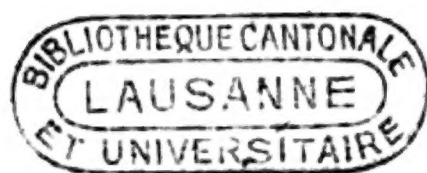
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THE warriors of Abyssinia are in general brave, and might be made good soldiers if they were taught discipline. They are very proud of their deeds, but not before they have killed either a Galla, a Taltal, a Shangalla, or one of their own profession, in war. Those who have killed a lion, or an elephant, distinguish themselves by wearing ear-rings, or a small stud in the right ear, like

those worn by the women. For the rhinoceros, the leopard, and the wild buffalo, no mark of distinction is allowed, although the two latter are the most formidable beasts to encounter.

The young Abyssinians of the highest and of the middling class are never satisfied till they have killed either a Galla, a Taltal, or a Shangalla, which, however, they in general accomplish in an insidious and cowardly manner, and it is often revenged in a similar way. A young soldier will go naked for a year or two, purposely to save up a few cloths; with these he flies to the frontier of one of the above-mentioned tribes, where he is sure to find people who have no good-will to either Christians or Pagans, though always at peace with both, and who manage the commerce of exchange of cattle for corn between them, as the Galla have scarcely any cultivated land to the south-east, though they have farther to the westward. Here the young soldier agrees with a person belonging to one of those petty tribes, who is well acquainted with both languages and the country, to take him in disguise into the country of his antagonist, where he soon points out some poor solitary fellow in a by-place, either feeding his flock, or employed in other necessary work, on whom he executes his wicked purpose, and then returns to his native place, where he is met

by all the young men and women, who accompany him to his chief, singing in his praise. After pouring out a multitude of boasting expressions before his chief, he throws down the token of his triumph, for which the chief in general orders a cow to be given to the singers and to those who accompany him, and keeps an open house for that day. The Galla and Taltal act in the same way, giving their cattle for a guide; while the poor Shangalla, who has neither cattle nor cloth, must boldly venture unprotected to revenge himself. I am well acquainted with a priest in the country of Wojjerat, called Cushi Tusfu, who has killed upwards of twenty Galla, and his son, Arnaton* Guebra Meddin, more than twice that number.

Though they act in this cowardly manner to attain the rank of manhood, they are generally very brave in their wars, when attacked openly by an enemy. They are very good horsemen, though without discipline. Their horses' trappings resemble those represented in the plate of the two horsemen in Mr. Salt's work; the stirrup of iron is mostly of an oval shape, except where it is attached to the stirrup-leather. The bottom part is a little round flat knob to make it easier

* Arnaton signifies champion.

to the joint of the toe. At times they ride on the great toe only, at others with two or three toes in the stirrup ; but in either case the fore-part of the iron is always between the toes. The ornaments round the horse's neck are in general made of the mane of the zebra, an animal found in great numbers among the Hazorta Galla, who kill them and send their manes to the Christian markets for sale. The Galla also manufacture a curious brass chain to ornament the necks of horses and mules, which they also send to the Christian markets, this being the only kind of work they are capable of executing in a superior manner to the Christians themselves. The bridle-bit, in all parts of the country, is similar to that in Arabia ; the reins are made in general of stripes of hippopotamus hide, worked like the lash of the thick hunting-whips in England, and just long enough for the bend of it to reach the front of the saddle.

The men dress as may be seen in the above-mentioned plate. The white drawers sit tight to the thigh, though they have latterly adopted wide trowsers, which reach down a little below the knee, but they are not as yet in general use. Some of the great people prefer a black sheep-skin, with long hair, to throw over the shoulders, others those of different animals, such as lions or

leopards; the black leopard, especially, is in great esteem. Their hair, though in general plaited, is always opened out, and made to stand up in a thick bush, when they are going to battle. Those who have slain enemies in other wars distinguish themselves by a silver ornament on the right arm, with a red sash round the head, and a red ribbon tied to the neck of the spear; while those who have only killed a lion or elephant wear a yellow, green, or blue sash. *Chiffer* and *bellor* are other large ornaments, worn on the arms of chiefs, whether they have killed or not; but the ornament called *maldier* is worn by none but those who have killed. It is a kind of oval ring, running to a point, like a horse-collar, at one end, where it opens to be fitted round the waist. They wear one for every person they have killed in war. The long ornament, hanging from the fore-part of the shield, is the skin of a white and black monkey or lemur, called *gruzer* in Tigré, and *foeho* in Amhara, which is joined to the skin of a lion's leg and paw. The Abyssinian knife is in general from two to three feet long, and from two and a half to four inches wide in the middle, sharp at the ends, and worn on the right side. When marching to war, they seldom ride their horses, but every one has his horse led before him, while he rides on his mule.

The horses are ridden only in war, at reviews, when accompanying a chief into town, or when exercising. Gojam being a level country, horses there are more worked.

Women of the lower class frequently go to camp with the soldiers, chiefly for the purpose of carrying jars of maize or *tsug*. The great people have also their cook and her servants, who carry the cooking utensils and different articles of provision, such as butter, and a barley-meal, called *bosso**. They have also, according to their wealth, from fifty to a hundred women called *gumbonest*†, who carry jars of maize or *sowa*. It is surprising how these poor creatures endure their labour, having to pass over mountains and the worst roads, where at times they are obliged to crawl on their hands and feet up steep precipices, with the jars on their backs, yet they are seldom known to break the jars, though ever so much crowded on their march. They always keep together in gangs, in the rear of the army, and in

* This meal only needs mixing with water, when it becomes fit for eating. Before the barley is ground, it is well parched, and, on the husk coming off, it is put into water. When swelled it is again dried in the sun, and then ground up with a little salt, making a very ready meal when a fire cannot be made without too much delay.

† *Gumbones* take their name from the jar which is called *gumbo*.

front of the *dugin*, or rear-guard. The jar is carried in the same fashion as the women in Abyssinia carry water. It is almost incredible what a weight of water a woman will carry at a time. A young girl, not more than twelve years of age, will carry to a great distance a jar of water, which a strong man could with difficulty lift from the ground. They fill the jar on the bank of the river or spring, as the elevation enables them to get it more easily on the back; a leather strap passes from the neck of the jar round the breast and below the shoulders, and, stooping as they go, they will carry it, though at a slow pace, a long way even up steep roads.

In Hamazen the women intermix with the soldiers when in battle, crying *Selasse! Selasse!* [Trinity! Trinity!] This cry they keep up in a very dismal tone, till the battle is over; but when won, they change it to sounds of rude merriment. The people of Hamazen are seldom known to take the barbarous trophies from the men whom they kill, as is done in most other parts of Abyssinia.

The women never wash, or sew any article of dress; such employment being considered improper for them, and appropriated to the men. Washing is performed by the feet, on the banks of rivers and streams, in a cow's hide, that

is heightened round the sides with stones to make a hollow like a tub ; *shipte* is their substitute for soap ; it is a hard berry, which grows in a cluster, on a bush with thick juicy leaves ; when dry it is ground as they want it for use. It makes the cotton cloths fine and white, and its lather is exactly like that of the best soap.

It is not customary for women to milk cows or goats, and in most parts it would be considered a great disgrace for them to do it; though indeed there are some women in the southernmost districts of Amhara, who do milk their cows and cattle, the example being shown them by the Galla women, who attend more to their cattle than the men.

To what I have said of the Galla, in the former part of my Journal, I may here add a few facts respecting their habits ; the names of the countries through which the caravans pass to Abyssinia ; and some particulars of their trade. But few slaves come from the Hazorta Galla. Those who come from the Galla district near the kingdom of Shoa pass through Edjow and Wochale into the Amhara. Those more to the westward enter the Christian territories by Agow Mudda and Gojam. The most famous districts for slaves are Yer Angero, Gingaro, Yamha, Bonja, Lakar, Jemar, Narria, Sedammar, Nono, and Gooderoo.

A considerable quantity of civets also come from those districts, which they in general find in the rocks, where the animal resorts, though numbers keep them in cages, and when well fed they produce the more civet. This article, as well as slaves, is purchased by the *cofla*, for beads, small looking-glasses, brass trinkets, and salt: red cloths and iron are also taken for traffic by the *cofla*. The Narria slaves are most esteemed; they are in general very fair, good-tempered, and make excellent wives and servants. The men in those districts are always on the look-out on the borders, whether in war or not, for the young persons of both sexes who may be attending their flocks, whom they steal and sell to the *cofla*. Their customs are like those of the Hazorta Galla in regard to their women. When a man goes out on business and leaves his wife at home, if he finds on his return a spear standing at the door of his hut, he will not enter, knowing that some other man is with his wife, but he goes away to allow time for the departure of the visiter; whether it be a stranger, neighbour, or brother, no offence is taken, it being the custom of the country. When the husband comes home, he asks his wife what the stranger gave her, and if she made a good bargain he commends, but if a bad one, he chides her.

In all the Galla districts, except those converted to the Mahomedan or the Christian religion, the inhabitants, on the appearance of the small-pox, burn their villages, and retire to a place as far off as their district will allow. As the diseased are burnt with their homes, fathers, mothers, and the dearest relations, alike fall a sacrifice to this barbarous practice. Horrid as it may appear, the Galla think it a very prudent mode of proceeding, and reproach the Christians for not doing the same, as they say numbers of their brethren are thus preserved by the sacrifice of a few.

Coffa is a province peopled by Christians, where the *coffa* from Gondar also trades, and it is about thirty days' journey from the latter place. A large river to the S.W., called Abiad, or white river, divides them from the Coucha Galla, with whom they are perpetually at war. Another large river to the N.E. divides them from the Yer Angero Galla, and it is called Gooderoo *. A priest from Coffa gave me this account, and he added that they have no books, but that their houses of worship were all dedicated to the Virgin Mary, and that they acknowledge no other

* This very remarkable account is fully confirmed by Mr. Coffin, and appears well worthy of notice.—*Editor*.

saints but Gabriel, Michael, and St. John the baptist. Their priests wear sheep-skin caps, have long hair, and in general ride upon horses. They baptise their infants in the rivers, and eat no raw meat like the Christians of Abyssinia, neither do they eat fish, though their rivers abound with them. In regard to their women they have the same customs as the Abyssinians. Their king is chosen by the priests ;—their houses of worship are built in lonesome places, so that no light can be seen within, and the sacrament is administered by candle-light. The same priest also declared that his was a finer country than Abyssinia; that the rains are the same, only a little forwarder, and he told me he had seen people as white as myself visit the king from a distant country to the west of theirs. The current money of the country is salt, as in Tigré, though much more rare. Their language differs very much from that of the Galla.

I now return to the Abyssinian usages, and shall proceed to give some account of the regulations in their capital towns, and their manner of collecting duties.

A Negade Ras, which signifies the head of the merchants, holds the office of collector under government, and pays a certain sum yearly for it, whether trade be slack or brisk. At Gondar, the

Negade Ras pays yearly to government five hundred *wakeahs* of gold, which is called *negus gibba*, [king's duties ;] and twenty *wakeahs* worth of goods, as a tax to government for his office, called *mershomyer*.

The reason for this large sum being paid in Gondar is the traffic in slaves, horses, and mules, carried on there—every slave, horse, or mule, which enters the market, paying to the Negade two drams of gold, a sum equal to two dollars. Every large elephant's tooth, above a certain size, pays one dram, and four under size the same as one large one. Each mule or ass-load of foreign goods from the coast pays one *wakeah* : a man's load of the same commodities pays six drams of gold ; horned cattle pay no duty. The cook of the king's household collects small duties upon all butter, pepper, onions, wood, &c. brought into the market, not according to a regular standard, but as she may think proper in her mercy towards the poor peasants. At Adowa, the Negade Ras pays only ninety *wakeahs* as king's duty, but twenty as *mershomyer*, and the governor of the town receives besides two-thirds of all the duties upon foreign goods from Massowa, as well as those upon slaves, ivory, and civet, from the interior. There is no duty on horses or mules at Adowa, there being no regular market for them.

A mule or ass-load of foreign articles, on entering that town, pays half a *wakeah* of gold, or goods to that amount; a man's load two drams and a half; one large elephant's tooth two drams, and four small teeth the same; which makes a wide difference between the customs of Gondar and Adowa. A slave pays half a *wakeah*, and a matchlock-gun the same, if newly brought up from the coast. On each man's load of cotton from Walkayt or from Massowa the Negade Ras receives two pieces of cotton cloth, each equal to two dollars, and one pound of cotton. All the duties upon cotton are the Negade Ras's own privilege, government receiving nothing from it. The cotton from Massowa sells at the rate of from eight to ten pounds per cloth, or dollar.

The Shiré and Walkayt cotton, which has in general larger pods, with very fine cotton, and much smaller seeds, sells at the rate of twelve and fourteen pounds per cloth, or dollar. Coffee, which grows in Agow Mudda and in most of the Galla districts, sells in the market of Gondar at the rate of from fifteen to twenty pounds per dollar; at Adowa it sells frequently at from ten to twelve pounds per dollar. The Christians have a prejudice against it, because it is used so frequently by the Mahomedans, and the *cofla*

seldom takes any large quantity to the coast on account of the great distance, though no duty is paid upon it by the Christians ; but were it to become an article of great trade matters would soon be placed on a different footing. At Antàlo the Negade Ras pays to government forty-five *wakeahs* of gold, as king's duty, and ten *wakeahs*, or goods to that amount, as *mershomyer* ; the governor also receives the third of all the duties upon slaves, horses, mules, and ivory, the same as at Adowa. The duties upon foreign goods, direct from Massowa, are the Negade Ras's own perquisite. There is no duty upon matchlocks at Antàlo. At Antàlo, the governor receives the duties upon salt, which are put into his store-house, and, when wanted, are paid to servants and troops about his premises for wages. The duty on salt, that enters the town on market-days for traffic, is distributed among the favourites of the household ; the governor's or Ras's wives have a certain quantity, and others of his favourites and relatives a proportionate allowance. I had myself, from the latter end of the year 1805 till 1808, six pieces of salt allowed me every Wednesday, which is the market-day, out of these duties ; and afterwards my allowance was raised to ten, till 1810, from which time, Mr. Coffin coming into the country and remaining

with me, it was augmented to twenty ; but, shortly afterwards, my servants quarrelling about their turn with the servants of one of the Ras's wives, when receiving the salt from the people as they entered the market-place, and of which the lady complained, the Ras thought proper to order a yearly allowance to me and Mr. Coffin, of one thousand pieces of salt, instead of our receiving it weekly at the toll. The salt is considered as a gift to the favourites about the Ras's person, to find their table with butter, onions, and pepper.

As I have before-mentioned, no one except the king's silversmith dares weigh the gold brought to market, or paid in private bargains, upon pain of a heavy forfeit. This officer bears the name of *buggerunde*. In Gondar he receives two *amol*, which is two pieces of salt for every *wakeah* of gold he weighs. In Adowa, he gets a *gribbaub*, which is a quarter piece of cloth. In Antàlo he receives four pieces of salt, and at Socotta, in Lasta, two pieces, per *wakeah*, as at the latter place all duties are one half of those at Antàlo. These *buggerundes* pay nothing for their office, but it is given by the governor, as a favour, to the best or oldest workman in their towns.

The cloths that pass current, in buying and selling, for a dollar are of the coarse kind called

firge, and measure about twenty *peaks* in length, and nearly two in breadth; and in marketing they are torn into halves, quarters, half-quarters, *peaks*, and spans, which make their small money. The markets are always held in a regular standing place, in general without the town, except at Gondar and Antàlo, where they are held in the centre of the town. A small market for petty things is kept up the whole of the week, except on Sundays, opposite to the gate of the governor's house in Gondar, Adowa, and Antàlo. They frequently kill meat for sale in Gondar and Antàlo, but at Adowa very seldom, and that only on holydays. It is the more common custom for every one to kill his own cattle. The lower class of people join together and buy a cow, which is killed and divided among them. On yearly holydays, those who are in service about a chief's premises have no occasion to buy, for they in general find sufficient at home. Meat is remarkably cheap: fine fat cows, or oxen, cost from two and a half to four pieces of cloth; of fine fat goats two or three may be purchased for a piece of cloth; sheep from three to six, according to their size, which depends much on the country where they are bred. Asmo, Derra, and the cold district of Samen, produce the finest sheep in Abyssinia. Begemder has also a good

breed, but chiefly valued for their skin, which forms the common dress of the inhabitants. Honey and butter are sold by the same measure as corn, all sorts of which are remarkably cheap except when the country has suffered from hail or the locust. In general a *churn* or *interlam* can be procured for a piece of cloth, which is about eight English bushels. Honey and butter are in general from half a bushel to three pecks per cloth. In all the markets it is a woman who has the office of measuring the corn which is sold, and her servants are scattered about the market with a measure in their hands for that purpose. For every bushel they measure they receive a small measure called *durgo*, being about half a pint. Any one in favour with the lady in office, on sending their servant to her, will receive the corn they want to buy, measured with a large measure, which no one dares to object to, it being called the government measure, about half a pint larger than the market measure. I have often received this favour from my friend Ozoro Suggee, who had the office at Adowa for many market-days.

If Christmas falls on a market-day, no market is held; if the same falls on a fast-day, they fast the day before, and kill and make merry on the day upon which it falls. Christmas-day is not so much respected as *Tumkut*, or baptism day,

which is twelve days after Christmas-day. On Tumkut, as at Mascal, the troops of different provinces are reviewed by their chiefs. The altars also from the different churches are taken to the river-side and put into small tents, when, after certain prayers and the Gospel of St. John have been read, men, boys, and girls, jump into the river. Those who do not like to bathe stand on the bank, while a priest throws water over them with his hand from the river. The higher class of people have a jar of this water taken to their homes, with which they bathe themselves : after the bathing is over the sacrament is administered to such as choose to receive it, every one who can afford it bringing, the evening before, bread, beer, and maize, or *sowa*, for the priests, who keep feasting on them the whole night, and some even are still intoxicated when they have to administer the sacrament. When the altars are taken up to be moved to their respective churches, the horsemen attend, as well as parties of boys and girls, singing to the beat of a drum, as before described. The altars are not taken out of church on Christmas-day.

The young men about Christmas time play at a game called *hersa*, in Tigré, and *gama*, in Amhara, which is similar to our English game of hockey. The Tigré throw the ball up with the

left hand, and strike it, before it reaches the ground, with a large stick made for the purpose ; the Amhara play on the ground, as in England. Several districts meet every year on Christmas day, at Sallabella, where they play against each other, but frequent quarrels happen, and lives are lost. The women also make merry on the Christmas-day, composing and singing silly verses as Christmas carols. When at church they say the creed frequently over and over ; it differs very little from ours, and has much the same meaning.

Acquaintances visit each other on all yearly holydays, making merry and drinking to excess ; and they have clubs, called *marver*, which in general consist of twelve persons, but sometimes more, formed for the purpose of friendly communication ; the men are in general in one *marver*, and the women in another, but when the man happens to be absent from his, the wife often attends in his stead, and the same with the husband if the wife be absent. These *marvers* for men are a kind of benefit societies, the members of which are sworn to be brethren, and always to assist each other in need, and above all not to wrong each other's bed ; though in this respect they are not very attentive to their vows, which is not thought much of, there being little

or no jealousy in the hearts of the Abyssinians with regard to their women. The meetings are held once a month, upon certain holydays that are fixed upon when the club is first formed. Each *marver* has a priest, who drinks and eats at free cost, and he opens the meeting, when all are assembled by saying the Lord's prayer, which they all repeat together; he then breaks bread, first to give to the poor at the door, and then to the whole *marver* in rotation. They break up in general very late, some in a state of intoxication: though the higher class of Abyssinians mostly have prudence enough not to get over-intoxicated; still there are numbers who drink to such excess, that they fall off their mules on their way home, and, if no one is at hand to look after them, they are left to the mercy of the hyænas, which range all night through the towns and villages. Many who love drinking in company will, if they can afford it, belong to several of these *marvers*, that are kept on different holydays. I belonged, for some years, to several of these clubs, yet, although they are sworn as before said, I found by experience that they were no truer to one another than other neighbours in general, and only resort to the club for company's sake and for drinking. They seldom quarrel it is true, at these meetings, though they

are sometimes known to kill each other when intoxicated, especially among the lower orders.

All great men strive to multiply relationship by giving their daughters to the sons of powerful chiefs, and engaging the daughters of other chiefs for their sons. A chief will never give two daughters to men of one district, but, on the contrary, he prefers those of the districts farthest from his own ; for, if he were to give and take daughters from his neighbours only, he would have no other connections than he formerly had, as the true natives of every district consider themselves by birth attached to each other's cause. When a chief makes war, or has war made against him, he calls on all those who have become related to his family by marriage to give him aid ; which makes a wide difference in the force he can muster to what he would have had, had he not formed connections abroad. The lower class, such as peasants and labouring people, in general marry near home, and they are always ready to fight for the chief to whom their sons and daughters-in-law are subject : there are also many hundred settlers in different districts, with their families, both of Amhara and Tigré, who are obliged to appear, when the drum is beat for war, no respect being had to their occupation ; for, whatever it may be, either son or father must appear.

When the drum is beat to prepare for war, which is always in the market-place, throughout the province, the person employed to make the proclamation public begins with beating in very slow time on the large drum, enlivening it by degrees, and ending with very quick strokes, which he repeats over and over again, till he has drawn as many of the populace around him as he thinks can hear at one time. He then calls out with a loud voice, "Clothe your servants, feed your horses, prepare your provisions, cut down and clear the regular roads of trees and bushes, in all quarters. I am not determined as yet which road I may take, but I march on such a day ; take care that none remain at home. If the father is weak the son must appear, and if the son, the father, on pain of your property being forfeited to the *wotada* [soldiers] and your persons to me. It is not my tongue that speaks to this effect, but the governor's,"—naming the prince. This speech is repeated several times over, and sometimes every market-day for weeks before the time of marching to camp. The chief never lets the people know on whom the war is to be made, till the moment they are assembled in camp, for fear of giving the enemy previous warning to prepare themselves against an attack, to drive off their cattle, and to put their wives and children into

safety. Indeed, it often happens that the proclamation will direct a contrary road to be cleared, purposely to deceive the enemy.

On returning from war, those who have offended by not attending to the proclamation are soon found out ; the informer getting a certain quantity of cattle for his information, and, as a punishment, the chief sends what soldiers he thinks fit to plunder the premises of the delinquents, which goes in part of their pay, while the offender himself is chained, and left to the mercy of his chief, who takes care to keep him closely confined, till he has drawn from every one of his friends a part of their property, as a subscription for his release.

The Abyssinians have a regular book or code of laws, called *Fettar Negus*, which however is seldom attended to. It is taken from different books of the Old and New Testament, and, though very severe, it would be better to attend to it duly than to decide without any law at all, as is commonly the case. The chiefs are in general tyrants over their dependents, and every one of the latter will strive to keep in favour with the soldiers, who eat at the chief's table what he has wrongfully taken from his subjects. Hundreds of these lazy soldiers lurk constantly about his house, in hopes of being dispatched to take in custody some poor individual, with whom the chief may be offended,

or of being sent on a message to some person of quality, for both which errands they are sure to receive a handsome remuneration, which will keep them in town for a few weeks, drinking and committing every sort of debauchery.

Some of the chiefs amuse themselves from morning till night, except in the hours after dinner, which they dedicate to sleep, in playing at chess, or *santeroge*, or at a game called *gibberta*. The latter is played on two small square boards, with nine holes hollowed out in each, and with fifty four iron bells, that is three to each hole; the boards are made to fit each other: they have no other but childish games.

Many are very fond of hunting. Partridges and guinea-fowl are the only winged game they eat. There are various species of the former. The Abyssinians are in general remarkably expert marksmen, and kill partridges and guinea-fowl, as well as deer, with a single shot, that is, an iron ball, no leaden balls being used in the country. The great men commonly hunt with dogs, of which they have several different species, among which those of a small greyhound kind are very good hunters; others, not much unlike the pointers of Europe, are also very good: but there is a small dog that resembles a jackall in its pointed nose and bushy tail, which he carries curling on

his back, like the fox-dogs in Europe, which is the best hunter of all, especially for partridges and guinea-fowl.

On a day appointed for this sport, every hunter goes out with his dog, which he leads with a small chain or cord. The chiefs, with a number of their soldiers, when arrived at the place where they intend to hunt, divide themselves into different groups, and seat themselves upon heights, at a distance from each other, so as to command an open view of every wood and thicket in the valley below them. The hunters meanwhile descend into the valley, in different directions, and let loose their dogs the moment a partridge is started, when the chief and his soldiers halloo, "Look out! She is gone to your right, to your left, &c.," their noise echoing along the sides of the mountains, while the hunters follow close to their dogs, which have good noses, and seldom lose scent when once in it, until they have taken their game. On taking a partridge from a dog's mouth, the hunter in general cuts off one of its legs, and gives to the dog to encourage him. Both partridges and guinea-fowl seldom take more than two or three flights before they take to running or squatting in the thickets, especially if much hallooing be kept up by the soldiers and hunters around. The large

mountain partridges are not esteemed more than the guinea-fowl, the meat being equally coarse ; but those of the smaller species are very fine and tender, especially a small red-winged partridge which is in high request with the great. Snipes, geese, ducks, and all kinds of water-fowl, are held in detestation, not only from being deemed unfit to eat, but because it is thought a crime to handle or keep them through mere curiosity ; consequently the rivers, lakes, and marshes, abound with numerous species of ducks and beautiful water-fowl. All kinds of deer, of which there are numerous species, are eaten ; some people dislike the deer called *madoqua*, and will not eat of its flesh through a superstitious notion of its being often seen on the sides of mountains intermixed with droves of monkeys. The small antelope, called *sissa*, is most esteemed. The *aggerzeen* is also liked for *brindo*, as well as the *tailhe-buddu*, in Tigré, and *faquar* in Amhara, Boa-Tora, Ducoola, which are all reckoned capital *brindo*, if brought home fresh.

The hare is, above all animals, held in abomination, and those who touch it are reckoned unclean, until they are well washed or absolved with a prayer by a priest. They are very numerous in places not frequented by the different species of wild beasts that devour them, and are generally very fat.

Hogs are numerous in the Kolla, or warm parts of the country, and their flesh also is accounted impure by the priests, yet numbers eat it as a cure for rheumatic pains and other disorders. These animals are seldom fat, except in the harvest months, when they are very destructive to corn of all sorts, if not closely watched. The hunting of them is excellent sport. When found in their holes or pits, the hunters fill the entrance with dry *taff* straw, which, being set on fire, causes such a stifling smoke within, the mouth of the pit being covered with a cow's hide, that the hog makes a push through all in a desperate manner, sometimes with a litter of young ones, but seldom gets clear of the spears and dogs at the mouth of the pit. Samen produces the finest dogs in Abyssinia for hunting hogs and monkeys, as well as house-dogs. The mountainous country seldom produces any sport for horsemen in hog-hunting. The leopard is their greatest enemy, which animal is also very partial to monkey's flesh, it being frequently observed by country people that it has taken a large monkey in preference to a kid.

In all parts of Abyssinia wild beasts of different species are numerous. The hyæna is a neighbour of all villages, and by night patrols the streets of the largest towns, though the most

cowardly animal of any I know. They frequently kill asses, several making their attack at once, which is always on the hind-quarters. The first that gets hold hangs with all its weight to keep the animal from kicking, till the others devour him. They clear the towns and villages of the dead cattle thrown out of the pens, and of all sorts of carrion. I have caused numbers to shoot themselves by tying a pistol to a stake well driven into the ground, with a string from the trigger passed round another stake behind, and brought to the mouth of the pistol. To this is tied a piece of meat, and stones are placed so as to prevent the bait from being taken any other way than in front. In this manner I have killed three in one night. Jackalls are sometimes killed in the same manner. The *sara* is frequently seen in the church-yards, and roots out the dead. The spotted hyæna is called *gib*. These make a loud howling noise by night, but seldom are to be seen in the day time, except when well sought for in the wildest parts of the forest. I have taken them young, but never could tame them. Indeed I have observed in general that the most cowardly animals are the most difficult to be made familiar. Several different species I have kept on my premises, which I had caught when quite young, but never could make any

so familiar as the lion. I have mentioned a lioness which I tamed, and sent to Captain Rudland, the Company's agent at Mocha, in 1812, without teeth or claws, which I had taken out when quite young; and I have seen many about the premises of chiefs, perfectly familiar and harmless, though possessed of all their natural weapons. The leopard, if taken very young, may be made tame, till it comes to know its own power, when it immediately turns wild and savage.

There is a very curious, though small, animal, which is very bold, called *chaw ambisson*, which signifies the lion's cat. I have tried often to get one quite young, but never had the good-fortune to procure any, but such as were half grown. This animal is about the height of the largest terrier dog, and nearly of the colour of the lion, but lighter, intermixed with yellowish spots on the breast. The claws are very large, especially those of the fore-paws; and they are very destructive to kids and deer. I endeavoured in vain to tame one, that I might send it to England alive; but found it impossible. I however took a sketch of it when alive, and the skin I sent to Mr. Salt, in England, with the skins of several other animals, that I was obliged to kill after keeping them for a long time in hopes of

taming them. Mr. Salt gave them to the British Museum.

The civet-cat is also an animal difficult to tame; it is a beautiful creature, especially the female, which produces no civet, and has not the disagreeable smell the male has. The civet is in some parts of the world much esteemed for its odour; it sells for four or five dollars per ounce in Arabia, and, I am told, twice that sum when taken to Morocco. I succeeded in taming one of these little animals, which I brought out of the country with me; it is very cleanly, extremely docile, and plays a thousand amusing tricks.

There are many destructive animals in Abyssinia, which I could never get into my possession. The *tockla* is not larger than a common-sized dog, with a long jaw, like a crocodile, but otherwise resembling a dog; it is dreaded by all other animals, which sneak away when they hear it yelp. A large animal of the leopard kind, called *wobo*, is very destructive to travellers in the parts which it infests. These beasts are seldom killed, being unknown to the eastward of the Tacazzé, and most frequent about Waldubba, Walkayt, and Ras-el-feel. A soldier of the Gusmarsh Hilier Mariam's of Samen killed one with a large elephant gun; its skin was larger than

that of any ox, and he had it hung upon a tree, opposite to his premises, for the people to look at it, being such a scarce animal.

The *gersilla*, or black leopard, is common in the Galla districts, to the south-westward. Its skin is much esteemed by the Abyssinians for a dress, and sells very dear. Wild buffaloes are numerous in the wildernesses to the north-west of Shiré, Walkayt, and in Ras-el-feel. Their skins make the best shields in the country, and their horns fine black drinking-cups, which the Abyssinians know how to manufacture extremely well. The hide of the rhinoceros is also good for shields, and the horns are manufactured into hilts for their large knives and swords.

The Abyssinians have a root called *merquotsar*, in Tigré, and *shemkirk*, in Amhara, which they use to kill a lion when he becomes a frequent marauder on their premises. This root is ground with a seed, called *incurdad*, into flour, and an old worn-out bullock is killed upon the spot which they know the lion is most likely to visit by night. When skinned, its entrails are taken out, and the prime parts of the flesh are rubbed over with the flour, as the lion never touches the entrails of any animal. After eating of this flesh the lion becomes stupid, as if intoxicated, and is not able to get away till daylight, when he is

attacked by the natives, who soon dispatch him with guns or spears.

The leopard is not to be taken in this way, for he never preys upon any animal but when alive. It is very singular, though wild beasts in general are afraid of fire, that the leopard, when fired at by night, if not hit, flies for vengeance to the spot whence the flash proceeds; for which reason, men who keep watch over their flocks with a matchlock have their spears in readiness in case of missing. These last animals are more numerous in Wojjerat than in any other part of Abyssinia; and their skins are frequently worn as a dress by the soldiers. The lions about Wojjerat have in general longer and thicker manes, and are more of a sandy red colour than those of any other part of the country. The inhabitants of Wojjerat, who have killed either a Galla or an enemy belonging to any other tribe in battle, wear a stripe of the lion's mane round the head.

The Kolla parts of Abyssinia are much infested with large snakes, which are frequently killed by gunners, and often young deer and partridges are found in their entrails*; there are

* Mr. Coffin informs me that there is an enormous snake found in the southern parts of the country, which sometimes grows to the length of sixty feet and upwards. He was present when one of these enormous reptiles was shot, which measured

many smaller species in most parts of the country that are very venomous, and in the rainy season a very poisonous green snake, which is much dreaded, is met with by the river sides.

The land tortoise, such as I have seen at the Cape of Good Hope, is frequently found; it is called in Tigré *abbagovica*, in Amhara, *uller*; I never met with any in the rivers, though I have been told that small ones are often seen in standing waters.

The *gomari*, or hippopotamus, is very common in the Tacazzé and Abawi. The inhabitants kill them for their skins and teeth; of the former they make whips, and the latter they sell to the merchants of the *cofla*. Except the ravages they commit among the corn, they are very harmless.

The crocodile inhabits all the larger rivers; he is often known to bite, and sometimes to strike people with his tail, when crossing the stream on foot or on the side of a *tonquor*, or raft.

There is also in the same rivers an animal called *ongguve*, very little smaller than the cro-

more than forty feet, and had the appearance of being a young one. It was armed on the forehead with horns which the Abyssinians use as musical instruments, in their military bands. The body is of a prodigious thickness, and the skin impenetrable to a musket-shot, so that the only chance of killing them is by hitting them with an iron ball in the eye. It is a most dangerous reptile, and very destructive to man and to almost every other animal.—*Editor*.

codile, and nearly of the same shape ; the jaws are not so long, and it is more like the lizard, and smooth all over, having no fins or scales along the back and tail, like the crocodile, no teeth, and the skin being quite yellow, with black stripes across the back and tail ; it is very beautiful either in or out of the water. I never heard of its hurting any body when swimming.

Another animal met with in the rivers is like the beaver ; its head is quite round, it has small eyes, and the holes of the ears are scarcely visible ; its teeth turn inward, and are very blunt. This animal is covered with a short grey fur ; its tail from the rump to the point is solid oily fat, but the other parts of the body are not so fat or oily. I shot one at Adowa, which had its place of resort within twenty yards of the houses. They make large holes in the banks of the rivers, and, if disturbed when basking in the sun, crawl into the water ; but, when they see any person looking at them, they drop at once into the water and are seldom seen afterwards. They are rarely killed, being very sly. The one I shot was discovered by dogs in a hole difficult for a person to get at ; but, after cutting away a little of the bank to give foot-hold to the dogs, they soon brought him to the mouth of the hole, and I shot him in the head. The Gusmati Guebra Michael, being then

in Adowa, sent for the skin, and, after taking as much as he wanted for his own use, he gave stripes of it to his acquaintances as a cure for rheumatic pains, as it is pretended that when worn round the ankle, or wrist, the rheumatism will never attack, nor the crocodile bite, the wearer when swimming. I never could learn the true name of this animal, no ten people calling it alike. Lizards are numerous, some very large, and of beautiful colours.

There are numerous large birds in Abyssinia, of the vulture kind; one very vicious and nearly as large as a turkey; another not quite so large, with a hairy beard, which would be called an eagle in Europe, but the Abyssinians call them only as they do all birds of the hawk kind, in Amhara, *arenora*, and in Tigré, *shiller*. *Nissa* is the name for an eagle, which they derive only from the Scripture. A kind of hawk, called *guddeguddee*, about the size of the English buzzard, with a bluish back, milk-white breast, and a short red tail, is frequently seen on corn-stacks, or sailing in the air. It is reckoned very unlucky to kill them, for which reason they are so tame that, on passing close by them, they seldom fly away. When persons set out on a journey in the morning, and pass a *guddeguddee* to their right, with its white breast towards them, they are satisfied

that their journey will be prosperous ; but if it is seen on the left, some are superstitious enough to turn back and wait for another opportunity. This superstition exists only among the country people.

There is also a beautiful hawk, as large as the *guddeguddee*, though longer and narrower in the body, every feather of which is jet black, except six wing-feathers which are white, and only to be seen when flying. It has a plume of feathers growing from its head, quite straight and about three or four inches long, tapering to a point, which has at times the appearance of a horn. It has no other name than *tuckuse* in Amhara, and in Tigré *salem sheler*, or black hawk. The most ravenous hawk is a small one, like the English sparrow-hawk, called *sequedem*. The common Bramin kites, like those in India, are numerous, and bald-headed vultures are frequently seen, but not so commonly as at Massowa. White and brown owls are very common, the latter very large, with a peak of feathers on each side of the head, which appears at a distance like cat's ears. Bats of different sizes are very common, and swallows of various kinds are also numerous. Sparrows are in great plenty, about the same size as the English sparrow, and both sexes are exactly in colour like our

hen, the cock having no black under the neck or beak.

There are few good singing birds, but their plumage in general is very beautiful. There is a bird common about the houses, with a red breast and a white spot on the wings, the other parts of the body being entirely black; it sings beautifully, and is the only bird I know of that does so, though numbers have a strong shrill note that produces a very striking effect from the mountains.

Birds of various species change their feathers in the month of June and July, as the rains begin, to the most beautiful colours. People who are inexperienced imagine them to be birds of passage, and even the generality of the natives think so; but I have ascertained the contrary, not only by frequently watching those at liberty throughout the year, but also by keeping them in cages; for nearly nine months both cock and hen are alike, but, as soon as the weather begins to cloud and the rains commence, the cock changes his feathers to a beautiful colour, quite different from their former hues; the hen also changes her feathers, but to the same colours as before. Birds, called *oaf-mascal* by the natives, are those cock-birds which have changed their colour, and which begin to dis-

appear about the time of Mascal, in September ; one of them is not quite so large as a sparrow, with beautiful red and black feathers, and scarcely any tail ; another of the same name, a little smaller, is of a beautiful blue. *Hellet* is also a beautiful bird, which takes that name in the rains, and is entirely black, except a bright yellow or red spot on the wing ; the tail very long, though during the dry season it is of a grey dirty colour, with scarcely any tail ; it frequents the long grass in marshes and corn fields. The *amballa* is a beautiful yellow bird ; in the rains numerous other birds also change their plumage. The small bird, called *was*, not larger than the English tomtit, of a dirty grey colour in the dry season, becomes a beautiful black and white bird, with four black feathers in his tail nearly a foot long. A number of the skins of these various beautiful birds I sent to Lord Mountnorris.

Many of the birds in Abyssinia build curious hanging nests, several hundred sometimes hanging to one tree, which forms a beautiful sight. The cock, during the rains, hangs to the mouth of his nest, fluttering his wings, and singing, not very melodiously, to the hen sitting within ; their noise is heard at a great distance, and the nearer the more unpleasant. In August, Sep-

tember, and part of October, the different coloured flowers and birds, on every mountain and valley, produce a most delightful effect.

The crow and the raven are very common; they are not unlike those in England, except that the latter has a large white spot on the back part of the head and neck, and some brown feathers on the wings. There are several kinds of storks, all which, with the exception of one, are, I believe, birds of passage; this is a well known species, large, and called by the name of *ferras scotan*, the devil's horse. Another large white stork, which follows the locusts and devours them, is much esteemed by the Abyssinians for the good it does when those insects invade their country. It is always found in great flocks, and is called *raser*. The *worra* is well a known bird in Abyssinia, with beautiful shining dark blue feathers, commonly seen about *kolqual* trees; *Dofters* make use of its liver and other parts in preparing their charms. The *gouramile* is a bird the noise of which is not much unlike the sound of a fife, and is heard in all the wild places. Travellers remark from what quarter its note comes, when they pass, and if a-head, a little to the left, they are doubtful of that day's journey being fortunate. Baharnegash Yasous, of Digan, when accompanying me down to the coast, in

January, 1810, turned back after going one day's journey, from this superstition, and endeavoured to persuade me to halt with my people another day before I proceeded. Few birds only have particular names; in general they are named after the noise which they make and the places they resort to, or the food to which they are most partial.

There are no parrots or paroquets, except one kind, which is a small green one like the common green paroquet of Madras and other parts of India, but it has no more tail than the length of the tip of the wing; it frequents the *kolqual* tree in general.

Fish are numerous in all the rivers, but of few kinds; I cannot say that I have seen any more than three, which have been before described.

When any chief wishes for the sport of fishing, which is frequently the case in Lent, he assembles all his household, and with the seed of a tree called the *berberrer*, which grows in pods like beans, they march to the part of the river where they intend to fish. The seed mentioned is previously well pounded in a mortar, till it becomes an oily paste. The chief and his nobility seat themselves in the most likely places for taking the fish in their small bag-nets, which they have fastened to a hoop and that to the end of a long

cane. The *berberrer* paste is divided among the servants, each taking a quantity in his cloth. They in general point out one whom they know to be a drunkard, or one that is intoxicated by very little drink, to go into the water the first instance, and, after he has pronounced, "In the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy-Ghost," he begins to strain the *berberrer* through his cloth, when the servants follow his example, jumping into the water, and, swimming where it is deep, strain the *berberrer* through their cloths till it is all dissolved. It turns the water white, and the number of people splashing about renders it muddy. The fish soon make their appearance on the surface of the water; each strives to take the greatest number of them with his bag-net, while the servants do the same with their cloths or by hand. The *berberrer* affects the fish for several miles down the river; the larger sort recover, but the small *lombes* are mostly killed by its poison. The largest *barki* I ever saw was about three feet long, and the only one I ever met with of that size, thick in proportion, like the large dace in shape. I have very commonly seen the *ambazza* nearly three feet and a half long, especially in the Tacazzé. When the fishing is over, the chief returns. His servants bring in what they have taken separately,

which, after supplying his own *abbuzer*, he distributes among his friends. As I have before mentioned, they are very particular in cleaning the fish, cutting off the tails and fins, taking out the eyes and gills, and scraping off every scale. When cooked, as I have before described, the *selafe*, or the *abbuzer*, who has the office of standing before the master to help and feed him, is very particular in picking out the bones piece by piece, which she rolls up in a piece of *taff* bread, and puts either into the mouth or hand as the master requires. The other *selafoes* do the same for those eating at table.

The Abyssinians, after eating, always wipe the hands and mouth with a piece of bread, as nothing is reckoned more disgusting than to lick the fingers. When the chief, or master, or mistress, wash their hands, before and after meals, all the company stand up, and hold their cloths before them, and offer their cloths as a towel to them to wipe their hands on. When great people sneeze, every person who is near cries, *Isgare Marta Guiti!* [God forgive you, master!] Those who serve out the drink taste it first, by pouring a little into the left hand, from which they drink it, and then, wiping the bottle, or horn, with their cloth, present it to the master. Those servants who bring in the victuals from the cook's

house taste every one of the dishes which they bring before they are served up.

The Abyssinians have a dislike to the flesh of the cock, and never eat it after the bird is full grown.

Having now given to the best of my ability a plain statement of the manners, customs, and natural productions of Abyssinia, I shall resume my Journal.

CHAPTER XII.

Buildings undertaken by the Ras—Bashaw Abdalla released by Ras Guebra—General tranquillity of the Country—Death of Ras Guebra and of Ras Liban—Sanguinary Revenge of the latter—Homoda, son of Liban—Hostilities between Guxo and Gojee—Curious coincidence of English and Abyssinian Words—Collection of Contributions for bringing an Abuna, or Patriarch, from Egypt—The Nayib of Massowa—Invasion and Plunder of his Territories—Arrival of the Abuna at Massowa—Restitution made by the Abyssinians to the Nayib—Pearce dispossessed of his house at Chelicut by the Abuna—Reception of the Abuna at Chelicut—He seizes Pearce's Garden—His Rapacious Demands—His Proclamation relative to the Coptic Religion—Rebellion of Chiefs in the Southern Districts and in Tigré, and their Defeat—Further Encroachments of the Abuna on the Property of Pearce—Resistance made by his People—Interdict issued in consequence—Speech of Waxum Comfu—Destructive Hail-Storm—The Chiefs remonstrate with the Abuna in behalf of Pearce and Coffin—Fireworks—Reconciliation with the Abuna—Pearce sells his Cattle.

THE Ras having no hostility with any of the other chiefs, who had now become afraid of him, passed his time in building a wall round his church at Chelicut, and in paving a broad footway, from the outer gate to the church. He also built a new house for his wife Ozoro Sean, her former residence having been burned by accident, from sparks rising from the cooking-house and falling upon the thatch. He frequently sent

messengers to Ras Guebra, desiring the release of Basha Abdalla, whom he had so long kept in chains upon the mountain Amba Hai; but for a long time Guebra begged that the Ras would consider the treachery of Bashaw Abdalla, and the danger to which he should be exposed from his artfulness, if Abdalla were once clear out of Samen. However, finding the Ras constant in his desire, he released him and his youngest son Mahomet, whom he sent to the Ras, and kept his eldest son, Sardoc, in chains till he forced him to turn Christian.

November 20th. Bashaw Abdalla arrived at Mucculla, where the Ras then was. He was honourably received by the old gentleman, who next day ordered the drum to be beat, to proclaim Bashaw Abdalla Negade Ras, or head of the custom-house officers, both in Adowa and Antàlo.

The country still continued in a state of tranquillity; the Ras amused himself by changing his residence every twenty days or month, to his favourite towns and country seats, namely, Antàlo, Chelicut, Mucculla, Felleddarro, Gibba, Lama, and Guravdeukduc in Wojjerat. In these places he kept his feasts and fasts, with the greatest comfort; but, though he had no enemy whatever to trouble his mind, I have often heard him say

that he wished for war, but could find no one to give him occasion to quarrel.

January, or Fur, the 5th, 1815, he kept his great holyday, Abbagarva, at Antàlo, where he was visited by Ras Ilo and his brother Palambarus Woldi Toclù of Lasta. Nothing particular happened in any part of the country, for a long time. Ras Guxo remained quiet, and indulged himself, as well as the Ras did, at his favourite towns, Deverertavor and Livo, and the Ras Marro, governor of Gondar, and Ras-el-feel, remained at his seats in Quora and Dembea.

May the 5th. News was brought of the death of Ras Guebra; the Ras was, or appeared to be, much grieved, and the drum was beat to assemble the people the following day, to a general cry, in the market-place at Antàlo.

May the 8th. The news of the Ras Liban's death also reached us, at which every one expressed great joy, on account of the barbarous acts he had committed twelve days before he died; which transaction I shall lay before the reader.

The great Galla chief Gojee, of Edjow, mentioned in Mr. Salt's Travels, having circulated a report that he had turned Christian, which he had already done three times before, now changed his religion a fourth time, to deceive Sarlu

Selassé, son of Wosen Segued, king of Shoa, who had promised Gojee his daughter if he would become a Christian, which Gojee had readily sworn to do. The road to Shoa lying through the districts belonging to Ras Liban, it became difficult to find a mode of passing the king's daughter through the territories of Liban, who was an enemy to both parties, and as Liban had heard of the affair he ordered a strict look-out to be kept. However Gojee invented a scheme for passing the princess in disguise; the king accordingly sent her under the care of her guardian, and dressed like the poor pilgrims who go from different parts of Amhara on a pilgrimage to Deverer Libanus, in Shoa. In this manner the monks and poor people passed her through the country in their caravans, and Gojee got her safe in his possession.

Liban soon heard of the event, and appeared as if he had passed it over without any particular notice; however, he only took time to consider in what manner he should revenge himself upon the monks and poor people. After his mind was satisfied that he could with little trouble complete his wicked designs, he issued a proclamation by the beat of the drum that he was preparing a *toscar* [festival] as an offering to the priests and poor of the neighbouring districts. One thou-

sand bullocks and ten thousand pieces of cloth were to be distributed, on account of his late father, Colassé, who had desired him to do so on his death-bed. A large *dass* was made on a plain at the back of which was a great wood, which Liban had fixed upon to hide his Galla horsemen. On the day appointed the plain was filled with old monks and poor of all sorts, lame and blind ; but, before he carried his bloody deed into effect, he chose twelve of the superior monks whom he had sent for, who readily came before him, expecting that he was going to appoint them distributors of the offerings ; instead of which they were immediately seized and chained. He then ordered his horse, about eight thousand in number, to clear the plain. They instantly poured from the wood, and scarcely one of the poor wretches assembled was left alive in an hour's time. The twelve he had picked out, as a reserve to satisfy his bloody revenge, he rolled up in waxed cloths, and then set fire to them at both ends. I was told by one of his soldiers, who was present at the horrid deed, that he was of opinion that more than ten thousand persons were massacred on this occasion. A great many of the poor Galla, who were intermixed with them, also suffered ; the great proportion of the people had assembled from Damot, Maitsha, Daunt, Wadler, and

Begemder, having many families related to the family of the Colassé in those districts. Liban died twelve days after this bloody deed, and the government was given to his son Homoda, though very young; but it was the particular wish of the Ras Welled Selassé, Guxo, and the other formidable chiefs of the country, that he should succeed, as he was the son of a Christian woman.

The Abyssinians amused themselves much with the idea of Christian priests going to a *Gallatascar*, or festival, and thought they merited their fate. Young Homoda soon became a brave chief, and appeared to be a better warrior than his father, and had gained some battles over the Pagan Galla to the southward of his districts. Indeed Guxo, to keep on good terms with him, offered him his daughter, to dry up the blood shed in the time of his father, which he accepted; and Guxo also gave a great portion of cattle and other valuables brought from Arabia, such as carpets, silks, &c., as her dowry. Homoda, though young, often sent to the Ras, and begged that the memory of his father's barbarity might be blotted out from their history. Indeed Homoda bore the character of a brave and compassionate youth; and would, I have been told, when the thought of the bloody deed came into his head,

order the house to be cleared, that he might indulge his sorrow by himself.

Though Gojee had been cruel beyond expression from his infancy, his name became less odious since the bloody deed of Liban. After Gojee had received the daughter of the king of Shea, he again became a Mahomedan, this being the second Christian wife; his first is the daughter of Ras Ilo of Lasta*.

Guxo, with the consent of Ras Welled Selassé, marched into Edjow, driving Gojee before him. He took the strong mountain Emanuel, which derives its name from the church of that name, built on the mountain, and said to be the most ancient monastery in Abyssinia. Gojee some time afterwards formed a friendship with Homoda, and became one of his generals; but Guxo held in possession that part of Edjow which he had conquered; the remainder becoming subject to Homoda. Gojee could not remain quiet, but soon turned out to be a *shifter*, such being the name of a prince or powerful man, who maintains himself by plundering from place to place. It is very singular that the word *shifter* is pro-

* The reader may perceive what a low ebb Christianity must be at in that part of the country, when a powerful Christian chief thus gave his daughter in marriage to a professed Mahomedan.

nounced exactly like the English word, and bears the same meaning. *Mystery* is another Abyssinian word that has the same meaning as it has in English; and *dandee* is also a word very common to express foppishness, haughtiness, or the ridiculous. The country in all parts remained for some time in a state of tranquillity.

The Ras proclaimed by the beat of the drum that every Allicar, governor of a village, throughout his dominions, should collect from his tenants two dollars each in hard money, cloth, or salt, and the larger towns from ten to twenty each, as a subscription to pay the expences of bringing a patriarch from Egypt. In this manner ten thousand dollars were soon collected, and a party of priests dispatched, with some Mahomedans, to Egypt, bearing presents of fourteen slaves and several pieces of the finest Abyssinian cloth to Mahomed Ali Pacha. The whole country still remained in a peaceable state. The old Ras passed his time in visiting his different residences, in attending to the administration of justice and to the comfort of his subjects; he was never tired of his old favourite game *senteroge*, which he played at from morning till night, except at his meals and during his nap after dinner. On his march, as he shifted from his residences, he frequently spent a day in hunting, and, at times,

played at *gux* [sham fight] on horseback, with his soldiers.

August 5th. While he was keeping his fast for the Blessed Virgin, a servant of the Nayib Eddris of Massowa arrived with the *morder* [written intelligence], of the death of his master, and a written *messerach* [tidings] of Hair, his nephew, being made Nayib in his stead; for this the servant received a present on both accounts, as is customary. The Nayib of Massowa is chosen from the descendants of an ancient family. Nayib Eddris left sons, but none were approved of by the majority of the inhabitants, though it was agreed that Etterman should receive one third of the income from his cousin Hair; Hair is the son of the former Nayib Mahomed. Shortly after the death of Eddris, some districts in Hamazen had frequently lost their children, when attending to their flocks, cattle, &c., which in general feed on the frontier of the Hazorta. During the dry seasons it is a common practice for the Hazorta to steal the Christian children and sell them at Massowa. For this reason the above districts assembled in a formidable body, and invaded the districts of the Hazorta, which belonged to the Nayib of Massowa, carried off five thousand head of cattle, and killed several of the Hazorta shepherds. The Nayib applied to

the Ras for redress, but the answer he received was, that the people of Hamazen had also sought redress for the number of their children that had been missing, stolen, and taken to Massowa and sold ; and he requested that the children missing for the last year should be returned, and he would be answerable for the cattle being restored to him. The Nayib again sent word to the Ras, that it was a thing impossible for him to know stolen children among the numerous slaves who arrived yearly from all parts of Abyssinia, and that it was not only an impossibility to recover slaves who had been sold a year before, but that even those who had left the country only a week had gone to parts of the world of which he knew nothing. Several messengers were sent backward and forward, but no settlement could be agreed upon between them.

The Mascal was celebrated this year in great pomp and splendour, and nothing particular occurred, except that the districts in Hamazen belonging to the Nayib were given to Kantiva Azeris, who took the *gama* from the Ras at Chelicut. This contributed to increase the Nayib's discontent, but he soon relieved himself in spite of the Abyssinian power.

November 10th. The Nayib's servant arrived at Chelicut, the Ras being at Antàlo, and it

being late when he arrived, I gave him lodgings in my house, and lent him a mule to go to Antàlo at daylight. This messenger had arrived with the *messerach*, or tidings, of the safe arrival of the Abuna at Massowa, and that the Nayib declared, that he should not be allowed to depart from the island of Massowa, till the whole of the cattle, taken from his territories by the people of Hamazen, and his districts in that province, should be restored to him again.

This immediately made the Ras send to the different chiefs of Hamazen, who had been concerned in plundering the Nayib's districts, to desire them to return the cattle; and they agreed, for the sake of the Abuna, to restore two thousand five hundred, but no more. This did not satisfy the Nayib, who immediately put the Abuna into close confinement, which treatment so much hurt the patriarch, who had been informed that the cause of it was occasioned by his children the Abyssinians, that he sent a priest, who bore the cross which he commonly held, and his silver staff, to declare to the Ras and the whole of his subjects, that he had taken their Christianity from them; that they were to consider themselves as Mahomedans; and that they were not to administer the holy sacrament, or even open a church, till they had returned every thing which

the Nayib declared to be his right. This so much alarmed the Abyssinians that an army was immediately sent under the command of Blitigatore Woldi Gorgis, to compel the people of Hamazen to return every head of cattle they had taken; and, by the obstinacy of the Nayib, they were compelled to replace what cattle had died since their capture, by accident, and to return his districts to him, on oath not to take them from him again when he had once permitted the patriarch to pass. When this business was settled, he also demanded five hundred dollars, as a standing or original custom on the passage of the patriarch through his dominions; which was soon paid, and mules and attendants were sent to conduct the patriarch from Massowa to Chelicut.

The patriarch, having soon learned that I had a good house and a garden at Chelicut, sent a priest to the Ras, desiring him to have me turned out, and to let the house be consecrated by a number of priests, and every thing to be made ready for his reception. The old Ras was disconcerted at this demand, and told the messenger to return with all speed, to acquaint the Abuna that he could not attempt to turn a Christian out of his own premises, which had been completed at his own expence and labour, and who was at

that time lying on his bed under the affliction of a painful disease; but that he should have in readiness the best house in Chelicut, which formerly belonged to his brother Manassey. The messenger found the Abuna at Taranta, on his way to Arli, and on telling him the Ras's reply to his message, he flew into a rage, and ordered Abba Guebra Mariam, the head priest, who had been sent to conduct him from Massowa, to go immediately to the Ras and inform him, that if I was not immediately turned out of my house he was no longer a Christian, and that he would not come to Chelicut unless his order was obeyed; at the same time telling the Ras that I was no Christian, but a Feringee, an enemy to the Blessed Virgin, and thought no more of the mother of God than any other female; and that I was a spy sent to find out a road to conduct an army into the country of his children and overthrow them. He said several other things of this nature to set the people against me, but still it had no effect on the old Ras, who sent word back that he expected a patriarch to be more merciful, and even to forgive those who had striven to hurt him, instead of behaving cruelly to an individual whom he had never seen, and who was at the same time a stranger in the land, like himself. This enraged the patriarch to such a degree, that he beat

the messenger with the cross so desperately that he broke it, and immediately issued an order, that throughout the whole territories of Ras Welled Selassé no church should be opened and no sacrament should be administered, even to those in their last hours, and that no priest should attend the burying of the dead till I was turned out of my premises. Many thousands, who had assembled to receive his blessing on his road, were obliged to remain at Arli, where he had been waiting since the first message, till numbers were almost starved for want of food, having taken but little provision with them, as they expected to return to their homes immediately.

The hard-hearted patriarch had no mercy on those poor creatures, who were obliged to sell their shields, knives, sheepskin dress, and their rags, for support.

The Ras heard the whole, but was unwilling to give way till he was even threatened by the priests from all parts of the country. Several of them, of superior rank, waited on him and warned him of the curse of the Abuna, from which there was no redemption. At last the good old man sent his favourite eunuch, Azgas Gabri Yasous, to tell me the whole of the matter, and that it would be better for me to be carried from my own house to

another good one, or even to his own. I replied that I thanked him kindly, but, as I had built my own house, and fully deserved it by my own merit since I had been in his service, I was determined to die where I then lay. The messenger soon returned, telling me that my father, the Ras, cried, and with tears running from his eyes said, "Tell him he must comply." I immediately ordered my servants to dig my grave on the floor, close to the couch I then lay on, and place a piece of new white cloth for my *mugganaz*, the only coffin of an Abyssinian. While this was doing I well loaded every gun and pistol I had in the house, and laid them on each side of me. Next day the Ras sent Shum Temben Aversaw and Ito Russo, two great chiefs, the former his own nephew, to endeavour to get me out of the house without using violence. Mr. Coffin was also ordered to attend them, and to intreat me to comply. On their approach to the house, my servants told me, and I ordered that no one should be let in but Mr. Coffin ; who, knowing my grief perfectly well, said nothing on the subject farther than telling me that the two chiefs were at the gateway. I told my servant to let those chiefs only come to the door, to speak to me if they wished it, but to let no soldier into the yard with them. On their coming to the door, which I sat opposite to, they

began to speak to me in a friendly manner, and attempted to come within the door, till I called out "No nearer!" Ito Russo then stepped slowly a little nearer, upon which I pointed a pistol at him, saying "My friend Russo, if you were my own father I would shoot you, if you come a span farther." On this he said, "If I had ever been any other but a friend to you, you might have shot me," and he returned with Aversaw to the Ras.

Next day the high-priest, Allicar Barhe, with his whole train of monks, came, and after many civil words had passed from them all, expressing their sorrow for my malady, they began to intreat me to submit, and let myself be carried to the house the Ras had given me in Chelicut. I always had had great respect for Allicar Barhe, for which reason I explained my grievances to him in a cool manner, observing that I thought it an act against all the feelings of Christianity, for a Christian to be robbed by those under whose protection he had placed himself; and that I thought it better to die in my own house, than be the occasion of some poor fellow-creature being turned out of his, as they said I might have any house in Chelicut, for I knew the Ras would not pay for it, but take it by force. At last they took my wife into the garden, and told her what a curse she,

as well as myself, lay under, by not obeying the commands of the Abuna, who had the same right to reverence as Christ, whose representative he was. This struck my poor silly wife with such terror that she came to me in a flood of tears, begging me to comply immediately, and, finding it impossible to disoblige her, I consented to be moved as soon as I could procure another habitation. She accordingly went in search of one, and found respectable premises very near to our own, at fifty pieces of salt yearly, to which I agreed, and began immediately to get my cattle and household furniture removed.

The Abuna had encamped at Givra Mascal, in the country of Tigré, till he was informed of my having quitted my house. I entered my new premises on the 20th January, 1816. This was the coldest winter I experienced in Abyssinia ; all the corn sowed in the last rains was nearly destroyed by the frost, and in some of the standing waters the ice was almost an inch thick.

January 23rd, the Ras, with his army, and all the priests of the country, went to meet the Abuna at Dola ; in the afternoon, as they again entered Chelicut, every thing appeared in an uproar. I never before beheld such a multitude of people assembled. The mountains around Chelicut were covered with them. Gangs of priests

and monks, some in white and some in yellow dresses, were seen in the different quarters, while thousands of other orders, dressed in their sheepskins, kept moving along the sides of the mountains, apparently like large flocks of sheep. Numerous chiefs, with their armies, held different situations on the heights, all moving in confusion, their lances glittering in the air ; and the manner in which they strove, by shoving against each other, to advance as near as they could to the patriarch, appeared like a close battle : numbers were trodden to death. The Ras rode on a mule, with his horsemen in the rear of the Abuna. The multitude of priests, with all the ornaments of their respective churches, were at some distance in front, and in their rear, before the Abuna, a number of people with large ploughmen's whips were continually whipping to keep the road clear. About five o'clock he entered my old premises, and expressed great satisfaction at having found such a comfortable dwelling in Abyssinia. The multitude encamped for the night, in confusion as they were, the Abuna being too comfortable in his unjustly gotten lodgings to come out to disperse them with his blessing. Before daylight the walls and every height were crowded with multitudes, calling out to him for his blessing, but he did not shew his face till nearly ten o'clock

during which time he had been feasting and laughing at the shouts of the people imploring his presence. On his mounting a small height, which had been erected for that purpose at the door of the house, he appeared quite intoxicated, and made a most tremendous noise. He struck with fury at several of his attendants, in doing which he broke his cross, and indeed his madness quite frightened the people. After a long deliberation, he held up another cross, which had been brought him, and told the multitude to disperse, saying he had given them his blessing, but could confirm no new altars, priests, or deacons, or give Christian consolation to any who had not as yet received it from former Abunas, till he had rested himself a week. This very much hurt numbers who had come from afar, and their provisions being quite exhausted they were unwilling to part with their sheep, leopard and other skins, such as they in general dress in, as well as knives, spears, and shields, at one quarter of their value, to maintain themselves, while the Abuna was feasting with the attendants who had come with him from Egypt.

On my quitting my premises, the Ras sent me word that I should leave people to take care of my garden, as the Abuna had not demanded that; and that he would have a partition built up to

divide it from the house, before the Abuna arrived, which he did. I ordered two lame men, whom I had kept to look after my garden some years before, to build a hut with some of my own wood, and look after what few grapes the frost had spared, as well as the vegetables, &c.

The Abuna had seen from his room into the garden, and, spying the almost ripe grapes, English cabbages, &c., the only ones in that part of the world, he enquired whose they were, and being told they were mine, he immediately ordered his attendants to break down part of the wall, and, as soon as he had cleared a passage, he flew into the garden. My poor lame men came to throw themselves at his feet, but he, with his wand, began to beat them without mercy, calling them "devils of Feringees," and he ordered the hut to be thrown down and taken to his kitchen for fire-wood. He took several turns at beating my poor lame men, till they cried out for mercy, not being able to run away from him; when, satisfied or rather tired of thrashing them, he ordered his servants to push them out.

I was very much provoked at all this, though more at the poor fellows being beaten so barbarously than at the loss of my garden; however, I knew it was only a folly to complain: but the old Ras, who had heard of the act, went immediately to

the Abuna, who for some time denied him admittance : however, after keeping him seated, in the midst of his household, at the door, for a quarter of an hour, he was suffered to have an audience of the holy Abuna, who first spoke to him in a very civil manner, telling him he was extremely sorry he had been kept at the door so long, but it being his hour of prayers, he hoped he would think nothing of it. The old Ras also paid him the best compliments he could, hoping to keep him in good humour, but all to no purpose ; for, after the Ras had desired the interpreter to inform him that the garden he had taken was mine and entirely made at my own expence and labour, and sown even with the seeds from my native country, which I had brought with me, and that I had given up my house, which was also my own, though afflicted with disease, he begged of his holiness to let the garden remain for my comfort. The interpreter had scarcely got through half of what he was desired to say, when the Abuna flew into the greatest rage, struck him on the mouth, ordered him never to exercise the office of interpreter again, but to quit his premises immediately. The old Ras came away much dissatisfied ; the anger he felt and his fear of showing it quite overcame him. He said, “ The tongue of that Abuna has speared me to the heart ; I cannot resent, I am

bound by my religion to bear it ; still I think we are rather a weak-minded people." Several priests and people of rank came to advise him not to take such a thing to heart, but to consider that whatever the Abuna said, if in his rage or not, was as a father to his son. The old man did not recover himself of the affront, till some hours afterwards ; however, he at last sent me word to direct people to look after the vines in his garden, which he had given me in return for my own. I thanked him, and told him I would be contented with his kind offer only, but would not accept it.

The Abuna, hearing that it was, and had been for many years, my privilege to receive all the brandy made in the Ras's premises, as well as all that was sent as presents from his neighbouring chiefs, sent word to the Ras to supply him and his attendants with brandy ; so that commission was taken from me, and a few days afterwards my commission for receiving the goats was also taken away to furnish the Abuna.

At the end of a week multitudes of priests and people of all classes began to assemble ; but, before the Abuna would consecrate new altars, confirm new priests or deacons, or pronounce any of the congregation Christians, he ordered a proclamation to be issued, declaring that, according to

the old customs established by former Abunas, every man wishing to be confirmed a priest must first bring him four *amolas*, or pieces of salt. All new altars, that had been dedicated to new churches since the death of the last Abuna, as well as those that had never been consecrated by the Abuna, were to pay also four pieces of salt each ; those who wished to become deacons two pieces of salt each ; and all the population, with their young children, that had not been confirmed by former Abunas, were to pay one piece of salt each. Persons were stationed at the gateway to receive this salt as the people entered, one at a time. More than a thousand priests and as many deacons were ordained the first day, and, as those who had brought their children to be confirmed were departing, numbers were still arriving.

In the course of a few days, the Abuna ordered another proclamation to be issued, that no man in Abyssinia be considered a priest, not even those he had himself confirmed, who did not take an oath to the Copti religion ; and that no sacrament was to be administered in any of their churches, till they had solemnly sworn to renounce all their belief in the Greek or Catholic faith. This instantly put the whole multitude in disorder. The priests of the Copti religion had formed themselves into one great body, and assembled

to back the Abuna in his commands ; others who were of the Greek church, which was the most numerous in Abyssinia, made a formidable body ; while some, but very few, of the Roman Catholic persuasion, formed themselves into a party. Several applications were sent backward and forward to allow them to live under the same rule as the preceding Abuna had done*, but to no purpose, till at length rage burst out on all sides ; every priest held up his cross, and with his people flew to revenge. Ill as I was, I cannot but confess that I was pleased to see the misguided populace in this uproar ; it was, however, agreed at last, that those who did not choose to follow the Abuna's religion were not entitled to his blessing and protection, but should be allowed to live among them as an outcast people. This did not answer, and the people became the more enraged, so the Abuna was obliged to give up the idea of converting, and confine himself to the care of his own followers.

About this time, Bashaw Wolokedan and Ito Guebra Sardou, the sons of Shum Sellore, and several other chiefs in the southern districts, as

* Abuna Yuseph, the late patriarch, allowed the Abyssinians to follow what religion they chose. Numbers were followers of Sidi Paulus, a Greek priest, and others of Abba Tobias, who had been to Rome.

well as the Gas Ischias and the sons of Nebrid Aram of Tigré, began to rebel and plunder the friendly districts of the Ras, who had become too ill, old, and feeble, to march against them ; however, he sent sufficient armies to drive them from his dominions. Waxum Comfu, one of his trusty chiefs, defeated the sons of Shum Sellore in a well contested battle, took Ito Guebra Sardou, Ito Woldi Samuel, and three other chiefs, prisoners, all of whom he presented in chains to the Ras, who ordered them to the mountains Arrara and Alajje ; Guebra Sardou and Woldi Samuel to the latter, the other three to the former. The old Ras was so delighted with Waxum Comfu's conduct that he gave him not only several ornaments, as marks of honour, but also the knife, set with jewelry, which was presented to him by Mr. Salt from his Britannic Majesty, and which he had kept as the most sacred of all his treasures.

The Abuna had not yet given me up, if he had the priests, and while Waxum Comfu remained at Chelicut he began afresh to annoy me. I had nothing now left but a piece of cultivated ground, well known in that part of the country, by the name of Wogarte, famous for two crops of any kind of grain a year, besides a meadow, very near to my former house, which produced fine grass

the whole of the year. I had allowed a load to be cut for the Abuna's own mule, from the day he arrived ; however, he was ashamed to demand the meadow from me without a quarrel, and, hearing that it had been given me by the Ras, about nine years before, for some particular act during my servitude, he went cautiously to work. He ordered the whole of the cattle he had, which had become pretty numerous, besides the mules and asses of his attendants, to be turned into the meadow to graze ; after this was done, the keeper of the grass came to inform me, and I sent him to Mr. Coffin, with whom I had shared its produce from the time he stopped with me in the country. Mr Coffin first came to me, to consult what was best to be done ; I being too ill to quit my bed, it was agreed that he should take our people, and go and turn all the animals, except the Abuna's own mule, out of the premises, and pound them, as we had often done to others, and as others had done to our cattle when found on their land ; which is a common practice in Abyssinia as well as in other countries. In a short time Mr. Coffin sent our people, with ten or twelve mules and asses belonging to the Abuna's attendants, while he himself staid, to drive the Abuna's own mule from grazing. The Abuna could see the whole from the canes round the upper floor of my

old house, and sent people to bring back the cattle in pound ; but I told them they should not be let out till two pieces of salt were paid for every mule and one piece for each ass, according to the rules of the district. On this they wanted to take them by force, but some of my old faithful servants remained to beat them out of the yard.

Mr. Coffin happened to have his gun in the meadow, purposely to shoot snipes, when the Abuna, seeing him with it, sent his priests immediately in all directions, to stop the service of the churches, which was then just beginning, it being the Saturday before the great Lent, and that and the following day being two great days of festival. He also gave orders that no Christians should eat, drink, break wood, or draw water, or even converse with each other, neither should any of the churches be opened, until his orders were executed, which were that Pearce and Coffin, Feringees, Caffres, &c. &c., should be stripped naked and flogged three times round the market-place of Antàlo, after which, if they survived, they were to be sent into the territories of the Galla and to be left to their mercy ; in the first place, because Pearce had pounded his mules and beat his servants, who, though they are great blackguards, are esteemed sacred people ; and

secondly, because Coffin had come with a gun, with intent to shoot him.

The moment the poor old Ras heard of the order, he was much alarmed, and, ill as he was, he rose immediately, buckled on his knife, and instantly dispatched some soldiers to Mr. Coffin, to get him into the same house with me, and to protect us from any of the superstitious people who might do us harm, under the idea that they were executing the orders of their Abuna; while he himself mounted his mule and rode to the Abuna's premises, Waxum Comfu, Chellica Comfu, and every chief then at court, following him. The Abuna ordered his gates to be shut, and refused to give ear to any thing they said, or had to say, till his orders should be executed. A multitude of people sat round his house for several hours, entreating an audience, but to no purpose; at length Waxum Comfu stood up, and made a speech in a loud voice, on our behalf. He said: "All who consider themselves Christians may be assured that it is better to fast a few days or even to die with hunger, than barbarously to abandon their companions. Though not of the same nation as ourselves, they have partaken of our calamities and of our pleasures; they have fought our enemies boldly with us; they have run the same risk of destruction as ourselves,

and for our country. The conduct of Pearce when in Edjow cannot escape the memory of any of us who were there, though many years ago ; those that cannot go two days without sustenance, for the sake of such comrades, are no soldiers, and those who seek to do them harm in compliance with the orders of the Abuna are cowards."

This speech broke up the assembly, while hundreds of the soldiers cried out, " We don't know what the Abuna means by forbidding us to eat : does he wish no one to live but himself ? " This he might have comprehended had he understood the language. Those of a superstitious disposition tasted no food for two whole days, though the *wotadas* or soldiers rarely fast, and were the less disposed to do so now, when they understood that the Abuna had killed two cows, and was feasting with his followers. The poor old Ras took nothing whatever ; the cows that had been killed were totally devoured by the soldiers.

Some of the priests and peasants wished the Abuna's orders to be put into execution. There having been, in the afternoon of Saturday, a tremendous storm of hail, the stones of which, as large as nutmegs, had cut down the young corn, pepper, and other crops, by the river-side, and

killed some cattle, the ignorant said that it was a visitation of God for not obeying the Abuna's commands, while others declared it was a sign of God's wrath at their folly for starving themselves on account of the anger of a man who could not live without victuals himself. Many opinions were passed, but none dared attack us, as we had not only a good guard to watch over our safety, but were well prepared to defend ourselves.

In this suspense the whole population waited till Monday, the first day of the fast Abba Som, [great Lent] when very early the Ras, attended by all his chiefs, marched up to the Abuna's premises. At first the gates were shut against them, but the soldiers of the Ras beginning to climb over the walls, making a noise, and disregarding the Abuna, he began to be fearful, and gave audience to the Ras. The whole of the great men insisted upon admittance, and burst into the gateway ; the Abuna appeared quite sullen, and had not a word to say through fear. At length Waxum Comfu, in the name of the Ras, and by means of an interpreter, asked him if he had consented to forgive Pearce and Coffin, saying, " We have fasted for them, when we ought to have been feasting, and we would willingly do more for their good, such is the respect we have for

these two men ; and cannot you," said he, as he stooped to kiss his feet, "forgive them for your children's sake?" It was some time before the Abuna broke silence ; at length he said, "How can I forgive the wretches, who used to flog and salt the backs of my countrymen when they had power in Egypt?" A very old priest, then with the Ras, interrupted the assembly by saying, "Abuna, let me speak one word in your presence; I am an old man and as well learned as any of my countrymen. Our religion teaches us to be merciful and to forgive our enemies, to seek no revenge, but, on the contrary, when any one smites one cheek, to turn the other that he may smite that also." The Abuna ordered the old man to be turned out, and the scull-cap torn from his head, and declared him displaced from the priesthood for presuming to teach the Abuna.

The whole assembly remained silent, expecting the Abuna's answer to the first petition of Waxum Comfu, but no answer was given more than to ask, by means of the interpreter, why the people did not disperse. This made the whole of the chiefs begin to get warm, and a murmuring and confusion arose. Chellica Comfu behaved very insolently, as they termed it, to the Abuna, by telling him to recollect that he, as

well as themselves, had some of Ham's blood in them, while Pearce and Coffin were the pure offspring of Shem or Japhet*. Several others spoke very roughly on the subject, till at last the poor old Ras broke silence, and, with tears in his eyes, said, "Listen to me for the last time, Abuna ; I am well acquainted with several white people, whom I have seen in this country. Though I know the temper of my own countrymen best, I compare the white people to a copper or metal pot, and the Abyssinians I compare to a thick earthen pot. A metal pot will boil with very little fire, and is cool instantly when taken from the fire; white people are soon enraged, but are soon brought to good-humour again. An earthen pot takes a deal of wood and fire to make it boil, and when it once does boil there is great difficulty in keeping it from boiling over, and even when off the fire it boils a considerable time. We Abyssinians are like unto this earthen pot; we do not soon collect anger, nor does it soon depart from us when collected." With that the old man rose and the whole assembly dispersed ; but they had not got far, when a procla-

* The Abyssinians affirm all black people to be the offspring of Ham, who was turned black for laughing at his father Noah. The Abuna being a dark Egyptian, Comfu supposed him to have sprung from black parents.

mation was issued that the Abuna had forgiven Pearce and Coffin, and that the people might attend to their regular occupations.

As soon as I and Mr. Coffin were informed of it we went to the Ras, and begged to be sent to Fellegdarro, a former residence of his, that we might be out of the way and prevent more mischief. Although the Abuna had got my meadow altogether, he still wished to make enmity between me and the Ras. I had formerly many fire-works, left me by Mr. Salt, which at times used to delight the Ras. The Abuna happened to pick up the remnants of an old fire-wheel, which had been taken into some of the closets by rats, or some other accident, and, on putting it to the fire, he observed sparks fly from it; frightened at this, he threw it down, but some one of more courage caught it up and broke the fiery part off. The wretched patriarch, in the morning, sent it privately to the Ras, saying, "See what these Feringees have invented to burn me in my house." Lucky it was that the old Ras had about two hundred different kinds of fire-works, which I had given him, in a box in his wife's apartments. He ordered it to be brought, and sent some of them for the Abuna to look at, telling him he was not afraid of his house being burnt by them. "Oh! but," says

the messenger, one of the Abuna's confederates, "they threw his, when lighted, on the house." The Ras, smiling, replied, "That is not made for throwing, but for turning;" and he showed him a squib. This messenger was Gorgis, an old Copt, whom I had saved from being executed by order of the Ras, and maintained several years in my own house. I have made mention of his treachery, in the former part of this book, towards me and Mr. Coffin.

In a few days the Abuna began to enquire after my health, sent me a letter, and begged I would come and see him, which I declined till the Ras should express his wish on the occasion. He sent to the Ras for his permission; the latter told me it would be better to go, and if there was no friendship, pretended regard might at least prevent malice. I accordingly went; he received me very kindly, as well as Mr. Coffin, and, after sitting some time, he said he wished to speak to me in private; Mr. Coffin withdrew, and went walking about our lost meadow, while the Abuna had a small table put before him with plenty of good victuals, and dragged me by the hand to partake of his meal. He ate like a glutton, afterwards smoked his pipe, and drank a great quantity of maize, and a glass or two of brandy; at length he became quarrelsome with Gorgis and

some other Copts, who were with him. I thought it best to withdraw, but he insisted on my not doing so till I had drank a little more maize ; he began to talk about religion, but I found he knew no more of the Scriptures than myself. He said he would make the Abyssinians good Christians, and he would teach them that there was no sin in smoking tobacco, or he would break every pipe he had brought from Egypt over the heads of the priests. He talked a great deal more nonsense, and promised to be my friend. On my taking leave he gave me two pieces of soap and a loaf of sugar.

Finding myself on the decline every way, both in my health and property, I sold my favourite horse, which was given to me by the Ras, out of respect for Mr. Salt, when I had a good meadow to maintain my cattle ; the Gas Guebra Michael, of Temben, had frequently begged me to let him have it ; and now, seeing that my meadow had been taken away by the Abuna, and very little likelihood of my recovering from my disease, he came and offered me a fair price of one hundred dollars, two *gibbertas*, or bushels, of honey, twenty-four bushels of white *taff*, and a cow. Thinking the price very liberal, I, with the Ras's consent, let him have it, and shortly afterwards he also bought my best mule, Angus, for seven

wakeahs of gold, two bushels of honey, and twenty-four bushels of white *taff*. He also wanted another fine mule, given to me by the Ras, called Shibshabit, but, as Mr. Coffin was desirous of it, I gave him the preference and let him have it, in exchange for an old mule I had made him a present of when he first came into the country. I kept nothing but my wife's mule and one mule for myself, two milch cows and a few sheep, selling every thing that would procure salt or corn, knowing that, for the future, I had to provide for myself, though I sometimes found friends. The Ras became old and feeble, and I, not being able to attend him, received but little from him for my support.

CHAPTER XIII.

Disturbances excited by the Abuna—Illness of the Ras—His Death—Consternation of the People—Funeral Ceremonies—Early History and Character of the Ras—Power of Superstition over the Abyssinians—Division of the Ras's Property.

THE Abuna was still causing disturbances among all classes of people, and every part of the Ras's dominions began to give signs of rebellion. The Ras's son by a slave, whom he had for many years refused to see, assembled an army of soldiers, whom he had enticed to desert from his father, and plundered several friendly districts, so that the Ras was again obliged to dispatch Waxum Comfu against him : being driven out of the Ras's territories, he went to Guxo, who received him and his followers.

The Ras still found himself too weak to quit Chelicut ; still his heart was too proud to confess his approaching end, and he always admitted those to audience who waited upon him. One evening he sent for me ; he even sent his slaves to attend upon me and support me on my mule. I went, and called Mr. Coffin to go with me. When we arrived, he ordered every soul to with-

draw but Mr. Coffin and myself, and then began telling us about the pains he felt in the kidneys, the stiffness in his knees, the difficulty he had in breathing, and the cough he had lately caught. "If you have," said he, "any medicine, such as Saul gave me, I think it will cure me," meaning lavender-water, given to him by Mr. Salt, with which I used to rub his body before a fire at night, when he found himself unwell. This he always conceived cured him of every complaint, and for the many years I had been with him he made use of no other kind of medicine whatever, except drinking his *cusho*, and liquor made from the pomegranate-wood to kill the tape-worm. He never wore charms about his body or limbs, like the Abyssinians in general. We told him we had no kind of medicine whatever; all that had been left by Mr. Salt was exhausted. I had some lavender-water by me, but I found him so far gone, that I thought it prudent to deny having it, for fear the superstitious people might, after his death, say I had given something that had killed him; for I have remarked in Abyssinia, when any great man or woman dies, they attribute it to poison, witchcraft, or something bad. This evening he would not let me return till I had had my supper. He appeared to be quite well, though he could scarcely eat any thing, and drank very

little. He once drank out half of his *bruly*, or bottle, and gave me the other half, though I had my own in my hand ; I attempted to stand up and call for another *bruly* to pour it into before I drank it, as it is unlawful to drink out of his *bruly* : he caught hold of me by the wrist and grasped it hard, looking at me stedfastly, saying, " Drink with me and out of my *bruly*," and gave a very heavy sigh. After I had drunk, he still kept hold of my arm, and would frequently look at me ; I observed that his eyes were dim, and he appeared very sorrowful. The hall was full of people, who were silently observing him look at me for a good ten minutes, and strongly grasp my arm. I was much affected ; I had some notion of his meaning, I knew it was affection. My heart was too full to drink any more, though he frequently took my *bruly*, and put it to my mouth.

Next morning Mr. Coffin went to see him. On his return, he said, " I am afraid the poor old Ras is nearly gone ; his eyes change their colour, every now and then, but he will make himself lively, in spite of old age." Shortly after he sent his tailors to my house, with a large cotton turban, telling them to sew him a pair of stockings, such as my countrymen wore, to have them three times double, and I could shew them

how to cut them out. I had formerly given him some new stockings, but he said they had no warmth in them. When these stockings were ready they were taken to him. I went again, though very ill, in the evening: he told me he was better; he gave orders to the *aszusey* [steward] to have plenty of every thing ready for the next day, and that the chiefs, who were then at Chelicut, were to be warned to be at his table on the following morning.

After every body had retired from the *adderrash* [hall] but his household servants, he ordered some whey to be brought him, but, being informed by the *abbuzer*, [cook] that there were some good curds, he preferred them; Abbuzer Welleta Tisral brought them in an earthen dish. After washing his hands, he took a little of the curds between his thumb and fingers, and putting it to his lips, he called out of a sudden to the boy before him, "Take hold! take hold!" giving him the curds. Those were the last words he ever uttered. Buggerunde Tusfu, Asgas Gabri Yasous, and Woldi Michael Teltal, caught hold of him, to support him, and he expired in their arms, on the 28th of May, 1816. His death was kept secret from the people, every one being sensible of the calamities that would follow. Abbuzer Welleta Tisral began to scream and lament, which would

have given the alarm, had not one of the slaves knocked her down senseless, and threatened her life, if she even sobbed. Buggerunde Tusfu wisely sent to the chiefs who had been invited, to inform them that the Ras had passed an uneasy night, and had taken some medicine and could not be seen that day. Every thing was carried away by stealth to the *giddam* of Temben; and on the second night after his death his body was wrapped up in a clean cloth, and, as if stolen, was taken by the slaves, Mr. Coffin, and Buggerunde Tusfu, over the wall of his garden, to the church, where they had already opened the grave of his brother Manassey. Allicar Barhe and the Abuna were informed of the event; before they arrived they had taken up the bones of Manassey, which were in a great coffin, made out of the door of his house, at the time that he died in December, 1809. The Ras's body was put beneath, and Manassey's bones then laid on the top.

The whole town was instantly alarmed; the cries, the shouts of the people, the heavy rain that happened to fall at the time, and the howlings of hyænas at midnight, were dreadful. Hundreds, instead of attending the funeral, were flying in all directions to bury their private property, to save it from the plunder that was sure to ensue. The Abuna read prayers; all the

Ras's loyal subjects assembled, some from a distance, to cry for his loss, while their districts were left to the mercy of rebels, who had broken out in strong bands in all parts. Many of the populace cried out bitterly, as the Abuna was going through the ceremony, "Ah, mad and passionate Abuna, it was our own fault for bringing such a madman to be our patriarch! It is your frequent aggravations that have broken the heart of our beloved old Ras. Ah, could we but all die with him, or thou follow him, otherwise thou wilt again torment us!" They said a great deal more on the subject, and on the past conduct of the Abuna, but though he heard them he did not understand.

The day after the funeral, the relations of the late Ras assembled at Chelicut, to consider in what manner the *toscar* and *fettart* should be carried into execution. It was proposed that the Abuna should march round the environs of Chelicut, at the head of the clergy of the neighbouring districts; the drums and all the ornaments, such as crowns of gold and silver, were also to be paraded in the front of the Abuna, to consecrate the limits of the town, which was hereafter to be considered as *giddam* equal to Axum, or the former residence of the Abuna at Gondar. When this was completed, people from all parts of the

country brought their private property to Chelicut for safety ; even those who had committed murder came into the town, where they were secure. It was impossible the relations could give a regular *toscar*, or offering to the population, as they were confused among themselves, every one wanting to have things his own way, and, while they were thus quarrelling, the rebels in all quarters gained the more advantage. However, it was determined that an account of the Ras's private property should be taken down by Abba Gabriott, then the Ras's priest ; though, not only at the time of his death but during his whole illness, he had never held any consultation with priests or his father confessor, as the Abyssinians in general do on such occasions. Indeed, when they find themselves dangerously ill they give their property to the different churches, which they term giving to God, though the priests reap the benefit and divide the spoil ; while in health they have no notion of parting with their property, if ever so wealthy and able to apply it to a more charitable purpose. This was not the case with the old Ras ; he had never been extravagant, but liked to see his money laid out to good purpose, and was always ready to help those in distress : but he was very particular in investigating their case, to guard against imposition, though he was

often cheated by the artfulness of religionists of both sexes, who swarm and lurk, like hyænas, in all the secret holds of Abyssinia.

He was one of the bravest princes in the records of Abyssinia : his fame began to spread from the time he challenged and killed the two brothers, Abel and Cail, who were two of Ras Michael's choice men, and whom Michael had sent off to meet him, and to take him if possible ; at which time he went by the name of Surhe Avvo. Being awakened from his sleep, by his servants telling him that Abel and Cail were sent by Ras Michael to arrest him, he immediately jumped up, buckled on his knife, saddled his horse, and, seizing his spear and shield, mounted, and never thought of his drawers till he was off to meet his adversaries. He then discovered that his thighs were naked, and cried out to his servant, Surhe Avvo ! [Give me my drawers !] but his adversaries having approached too near, he had no time to dismount. When those two horsemen came up in his front, he threw his first lance at Cail when at a considerable distance ; it struck him in the eye, and he dropped from his horse. He then held his shield to Abel, who threw at him, and warded off the blow, and killed him with the thrust of a spear in the kidneys. He took the usual trophies from Abel, and both their horses,

with their ornaments of honour, but did not mangle the body of Cail, as he was not quite dead, leaving him to die with the agony of the wound he had given him through the eye into the skull. The spectators thought of his last words, as he rode off to meet his adversaries, Surhe Avvo, which name they bestowed upon him in memory of his feat. Ras Michael was so well pleased with his bravery, that he swore to forgive him, and make him governor of Enderta; but Surhe Avvo remembered the cruel death to which Michael had put his father, Kefla Yasous, and would not approach him, in spite of his entreaties; but he went for some time to the Hazorta Galla, and to the Taltal. Michael did all he could to get hold of him by bribing the Galla, but, on discovering these attempts, he went to the Amhara, and was some time in the service of Ras Ilo of Gojam.

After the death of Ras Michael, he came to Wojjerat, where he assembled a body of his old confederates, and stormed the mountain Amhara. The Gas Woldi Gabriel, son of the Ras Michael, was obliged to march against him, and, after more than twenty days' siege, Woldi had lost more than he had gained; he was obliged to withdraw from Wojjerat, and make terms with Surhe Avvo, by proclaiming him Balgadda, that is governor of

all the salt districts, and when Woldi Gabriel marched to Edjow, he left him to take care of Enderta. Woldi Gabriel being killed by the Ras Alligaz in battle, Surhe Avvo immediately flew to Gondar, to the king Tecla Gorgis, petitioning him for the title of Gusmati of Enderta; Gabri Mascall had also gone from Tigré for the same purpose.

Tecla Gorgis, according to his usual bad faith, ordered the drum to be beat to proclaim Surhe Avvo Welled Selassé Gusmati, but before the drum had done beating to assemble the populace he cried out, "I mean the Gusmati Gabri Mascall." He again contradicted his orders two or three times; till at last, as he was going to contradict again, the drummer had pronounced the words to Gabri Mascall Gusmati. It was then too late for Tecla Gorgis to change his mind again. Surhe Avvo had bought a fine horse for his own riding, and he made the best of his way for Enderta. The Gusmati Gabri Mascall followed, and assembled his army of more than twenty thousand men, among whom were one thousand five hundred muskets. Welled Selassé, or Surhe Avvo, had only about three thousand men, but mostly horse, and only twenty-five guns. The Gusmati Gabri Mascall marched from Tigré with intent to drive Welled Selassé out of Enderta, but how

great was his surprise when he heard that his rival had come to meet him! He fell upon the van of the Gusmati's army, in the country of Giralta, and forced him to retreat, after cutting off and taking Fit-aurari Gabri Meddin prisoner, and encamped in the plain of Mugga. Here Welled Selassé mounted his horse, which he had bought at Gondar, called Badinsah, and, at the head of his horsemen, rode into Gabri Mascal's camp, when his troops had not the least suspicion, imagining that he had been contented with the capture of Fit-aurari Gabri Meddin, and was at some distance on his return. Numbers were killed in the camp, but the sudden alarm put them into such confusion, that Welled Selassé rode with his horsemen through thick and thin, till they surprised Gabri Mascal and took him prisoner, while he and several other chiefs were sitting drinking in his tent. Every thing was then in his power; the whole camp immediately surrendered, and all muskets were delivered up to him: he then marched on to Tigré. Ozoro Alassa, daughter to Ras Michael, and Bashaw Dingerze, Ras Michael's son-in-law, had also prepared to give him battle, but he soon drove them, and the Galla they had in their service, off the field, and made a great slaughter. Even pregnant women were not spared by his Galla, which is the only bar-

barity laid to the charge of Welled Selassé, during the whole of the twenty-nine years that he was Ras. From the day he took Gabri Mascal he was called Badinsah, from the name of his horse, by which name he went till his death.

The relations of Ras Michael dreaded the thought of coming to terms with him, knowing the barbarous death which his father Kefla Yassous had suffered, and supposed he would seek revenge ; but, on the contrary, he used those who fell into his hands with the same kindness as he did his own relations : even when Nebrid Aram, who put out his father's eyes, was taken prisoner, he released him from chains, and gave him the government of Tigré, to shew the people he was not revengeful. He was in some degree proud, like all the heroes of Abyssinia ; but he was good-natured and lively, even to his last moments. At meal-times he could never take a second mouthful without cramming the mouth of some one or other of his friends, who were at table with him ; if he thought the dish he was eating from was better than what others were eating, he could not rest till he had given every one a taste till it was all gone. He drank very freely of wine and maize, but never drank brandy. He never ate goat's flesh, or guinea-fowl, or the flesh of an antelope, called *madocqua* ; most other kinds of

game he was remarkably fond of. A few days before he died, he began to dislike *brindo*, or raw meat, and used to have it broiled a little.

His favourite game was chess, which he would play at from morning till night, even with his slaves, or any of his household servants, though there were proper people appointed to play with him. He was fond of hunting till a few months before his death. It was the opinion of the people, as well as my own, that the anger excited in his heart by the Abuna, whose conduct he was too prudent to resent, knowing the weak and superstitious minds of the people, was the true cause of his death. He had before this happened given the Abuna a number of valuable articles, thinking to pacify him and keep him quiet; but the change from leading the miserable life of an Egyptian Copt, who had been obliged to dig the earth and climb the lofty date-trees for his subsistence, to being honoured by millions of people, brave though silly, completely turned his brain.

One instance will serve to point out how the hearts of the bravest Abyssinians may be terrified through superstition. A little previous to the Ras's death, Ito Amdersean of Abbatsarma, a chief of known intrepidity, whose fame had spread even from Gojam to the sea-coast, for

feats which he had performed in the wars under Ras Michael and Ras Welled Selassé, had, about the time the Abuna arrived at Massowa, been dispatched, by order of the Ras, to make the people of Hamazen give up the cattle before mentioned, belonging to the Nayib, that the Abuna might pass through the Nayib's territories. Unfortunately, his horse fell with him and broke his leg, after which he remained at Abbatsarma till he got a little better; but, before he could stand, he was desirous of going to Enderta, to obtain the Abuna's blessing. He was carefully carried thither on a couch by his servants, and, on his arrival at Chelicut, after paying his respects to the Ras, he waited an opportunity to see the Abuna. Hearing one day that he was at church, he ordered his servants to carry him to the gate where the Abuna was to pass; there he waited till the Abuna was coming out. On seeing him advance, he ordered his servants to carry him, and place him on his knees before the feet of the Abuna; and, this being done, he cried out, "My father, bless me!" and held his face to the ground. The Abuna began, with his large staff, which he had in his hand, to beat him without mercy, and the servants who carried him ran away from fear. Poor Amdersean cried out, in a most lamentable tone, "I know I deserve

punishment ; I will pay whatever you may order me to the churches, but I am too weak for bodily punishment." The Abuna, not understanding him, kept on beating him about his head, till the blood ran, and the wheals on his back rose like blisters. As he was unable to rise, the Abuna became tired, and with his foot kicked him out of his way, and passed on, scarcely able to breathe with anger. Amdersean thought the Abuna had been punishing him for his sins, and had forgiven him, though his leg was again hurt, and its cure in consequence delayed. The superstitious Amdersean thought the Abuna had done all this from regard for him, and sent him, immediately on his being carried home, two fat cows, telling his servants to tell the Abuna that he would never sin again, and thanking God and the Abuna that he was once clear. The Ras, being informed of what had happened to Amdersean, could not refrain from laughing. Amdersean is of one of the greatest families in Tigré.

Having thus given a short account of my late old master, I shall return to his surviving relatives.

Woldi Raphael and Aversaw, the two eldest relations, collected the remainder of the Ras's family of both sexes at Chelicut. The whole of the treasurers and scribes were called, and

an inventory of property was taken by Abba Gabriott, who was left to share it as he thought fit. Abba Gabri Mariam, the head treasurer, who kept the money in the *giddam* in Temben, reported that he had seventy-five thousand dollars, and fifty *wakeahs* of gold, and a number of gold and silver ornaments, such as crowns, crosses, books, with golden and silver covers, and part of the jewelry presented to the Ras by his Britannic majesty, through Mr. Salt.

Woldi Michael Teltal gave in that he had in the church of Moi Ambassor, another monastery in the wilderness of Temben, five thousand dollars, a number of glass ornaments, &c. After Abba Gabriott had divided these ornaments among different churches, he began with the dollars; one thousand five hundred of which he gave to the Abuna, one thousand to the priests of Axum, the same to Waldubba, to Sallabella, and so on, more or less to all the respective churches in Abyssinia, as *fettart*, or prayers of forgiveness, to be said every day throughout the whole year. All other household goods, such as drinking-glasses, horns, &c., were given to the poor; the rings the Ras wore on his fingers were given to an old religious woman, who sold them to Mr. Coffin for two dollars; one of these was the ring presented to the Ras by Mr. Salt,

from his majesty. A report was then taken, from the Buggerunde Tusfu, of the agricultural property and herds of cattle in the hands of the Zellans*, which was found to amount to fifteen thousand five hundred cows, one thousand seven hundred and thirty ploughshares, four thousand one hundred and ten ploughing oxen; and about eight thousand *churns* of corn were in the hands of the arristies†, from the last year's crop, besides what was in stocks, &c. It was agreed upon that these should be divided by the *shum-mergildas*, after Ozoro Setches, the regular wife of the late Ras, should have taken her tenth.

* Herdsmen or shepherds. † Arristie or gavverry, farmer.

CHAPTER XIV.

Civil War among the Chiefs for the dignity of Ras—Hostilities between Woldi Raphael and Aversaw—Defeat of Aversaw by Bashaw Wolokedan—Rout of Wolokedan's army—Movements of the Gusmati Ischias and Subegadis—The English cannon—Battle between Subegadis and Woldi Raphael—Defeat of the latter—Perilous Situation of Pearce and Coffin—Restitution of Plunder—The Gas Guebra Michael defeats Subegadis—Operations of Woldi Raphael—Pearce leaves Chelicut with many of the Inhabitants—Excavated Rocks—Crocodiles—Pearce proceeds to Tigré—Large Snake—Arrival at Adowa—Proceedings of Gas Ischias—That Chief defeated and taken by Woldi Raphael—Battles in Gojam—Agreement between Woldi Raphael, Guebra Michael, and Subegadis—Fresh Quarrels among the Chiefs.

BEFORE the arrangements for the division of the property left by the Ras could be carried into effect the whole of the country was in a state of civil war, every chief doing his best to become Ras. Woldi Raphael and Aversaw disputed who should have the Ras's *negarettes* [drums] ; and the latter went to Antàlo, and took possession of the town. I, being very ill, could not go to Antàlo, and Aversaw sent for me and Mr. Coffin, but I persuaded Mr. Coffin not to comply ; however Aversaw got a Mussulman, who had before seen a cannon, to load the two three-pounders, which were then at Antàlo. This Mussulman was

forced to load them by Aversaw's orders, supposing that Woldi Raphael would come to attack the town. In the night Woldi Raphael, being my friend, sent to me to know what he could do to prevent the guns being fired off, if he attempted to take Antàlo from Aversaw. I told him to send some one in whom he could trust, by night, when every one was asleep, to pour water into the touch-holes and then to drive a nail into each, which I gave him, and to prevent making any noise to cover the head of the nail with a piece of skin while he struck it with a stone, or what not. This had the desired effect, and Woldi Selassé, an old servant of mine, completed the job*.

Woldi Raphael marched to Wojjerat, to collect an army to besiege Aversaw ; by this time Arriah, the Ras's son, arrived in Antàlo from Guxo, and Aversaw ordered the drum to be beat to proclaim Arriah successor to his father's title. Bashaw Wolokedan had encamped at Saharte, on his road to Antàlo, and Aversaw and Arriah went out, with about five thousand men, to meet him. A hard battle was fought at Asta. Aversaw, while on horse-back, was shot through the knee. Wolokedan's army pursued and cut up their adversaries, till

* I and Mr. Coffin had agreed, if possible, to disable the guns, for, if they had done execution, the superstitious relatives of those who fell by them might have sought revenge upon us.

night came on, when they encamped at the foot of the mountain Gunuffe, by the church Madenallum, close behind the town of Antàlo. Aversaw arrived safe at Chelicut, in the Abuna's premises; Arriah, with what men he had brought off, joined Ito Russo of Gibbart, and, in the morning, again attacked Bashaw Wolokedan, but was obliged to retreat by degrees till they were on the skirts of Chelicut, when we had a full view of the armies from our houses. Ito Russo was wounded, and made prisoner, and a general retreat had taken place, when Woldi Raphael and Waxum Comfu arrived, through the valley, with a powerful army which they had collected purposely to attack Aversaw. Wolokedan, seeing them at a distance, ordered his chiefs to call in their soldiers from following the beaten enemy, and draw themselves back to a height ready to receive Woldi Raphael, who had approached near with his horse and made several attacks on Wolokedan's army, but was repulsed from the place where Wolokedan had posted himself. On the musketry and foot coming up, a general action took place, which lasted about an hour, with a continual fire of musketry; but at last Wolokedan's army gave way and a complete massacre took place. Ito Aram, Wolokedan's brother-in-law, was killed, and several chiefs were taken prisoners.

The same day the sons of Shum Serrer, headed by Ito Guebra Amlac, their eldest brother, fought with and beat Ito Dimsu, the late Ras's nephew, when the Taltals in the army of Amlac acted as barbarously as the Galla, on the taking of a mountain, called Wogara Womba, where they did not spare even pregnant women, in order that they might destroy all male infants. Woldi Raphael next day marched to Womberta, and drove the sons of Shum Sherrer into the country of the Taltals, where the latter, under Woldi Raphael, repaid their debt by behaving in the same brutal manner to the women of Womberta*.

The very day that the battle was fought between Woldi Raphael and Wolockedan, the Gusmati Ischias, who had got the command of Tigré and the most numerous army that ever was assembled there, amounting to no less than fifty thousand troops, was encamped without the town of Adowa. All the chiefs of Shiré and Hamazen, and numerous Amhara, had joined him; Subegadis, who had marched, with a small army of brave followers, from Agamé, had encamped at

* In justice to the Abyssinians it must be observed that the women are rarely treated with barbarity; they generally indeed pass from the hands of the vanquished to those of the conquerors, but without violence, and commonly with the consent of the females themselves; the virtue of chastity not ranking very high in the moral code of the country. *Editor.*

Say Eddergar. The Gusmati Ischias went from Adowa, with the intent of encamping at some distance, and sending a detachment to take Subegadis ; but how was he disappointed when he learned that Subegadis had beaten the detachment back to the main army, which he attacked and soon put to flight. Never was there such slaughter known among chiefs, in the records of Abyssinia ; Bashaw Dingerze, son-in-law to Ras Michael, Ito Azariah, the son of Shiré, and a number of great men, altogether amounting to forty seven chiefs of great distinction, were killed. Next day, when Subegadis entered the Ras's dominions, at Adowa, according to custom, his army threw down their trophies before their chiefs, and one thousand nine hundred and seventy formed the pile. Subegadis would not permit them to be hung upon the walls, or about the front of the premises, according to the usual practice, knowing it must affect the people of Tigré ; for it was said that more than one hundred of the slain were descendants of Ras Michael's family ; he therefore ordered them to be buried. The Gusmati Ischias escaped, and fled to Arder Serat. Numerous other battles between inferior chiefs were fought, in different districts, about the same time, but it is impossible for me to detail the whole.

Guxo, the moment he heard of the Ras's death, marched and conquered Edjow, and soon after he began with Lasta.

It was found, when Woldi Raphael went to Antàlo, that the guns were dismounted and the wheels and carriages could not be found. Aversaw, previously to his marching against Wolokedan, finding out how he had been tricked, dismounted them and buried the wheels and carriages where they were not again found. He suspected that the advice had been given by me and Mr. Coffin, and how could the villain think otherwise? On the death of the Ras he had seized two thousand pieces of salt, belonging to me and Mr. Coffin, in the store at Antàlo, besides fifteen *interlams*, or *churns*, of corn, which he owed me, but which he never would pay.

Woldi Raphael sent for Mr. Coffin to draw the guns, which he found to be loaded. It would have been difficult to fire them, had they not been spiked; the Mahomedan having put in the cartridges without taking off the thick paper-bags that covered the flannel cartridge-bags, neither had he rammed them home, cramming three upon each other, then a canister and a round shot, with a wad of sheep-skin over all. This appeased Woldi Raphael's anger against the Mahomedan, as Mr. Coffin assured him that it must have been

done wilfully, to prevent the guns being fired. Woldi Raphael ordered them to be taken to the mountain Allage: he succeeded in getting one thither in four days; I cannot say what became of the other*.

Subegadis remained only six days in Tigré; he then left part of his army under the Gusmati Wolokedan, grandson of Ras Michael, who had joined him, to take care of Tigré, and marched for Enderta. Woldi Raphael had had several battles with Ito Guebra, son of the late Gas Woldi of Wojjerat, whom he always defeated, except in one battle, when his brother Gusho was made prisoner, and Guebra took him to the Hazorta Galla. Woldi Raphael was glad to come to terms with Guebra, and to release his brother. By this time Subegadis had advanced near, and halted, for some days, at Serrer, as he marched from Tigré round by Arramat, purposely to recruit his army, which was reinforced at Serrer by a number of Telfains, a tribe between the Galla and Taltal, which had always shewn a great regard towards Subegadis. From Serrer he marched towards Antàlo; Woldi Raphael went one day's march to meet him, and the two armies encamped near to each other, within a mile of the town of

* I understand from Mr. Coffin that both guns were afterwards discovered and remounted.—*Editor.*

Woger Arreva, the capital of Ito Debbib, the late Ras's brother. Several messages were sent backward and forward from each side, through the priests, to endeavour to come to terms to prevent bloodshed. But Dimsu, son of Ito Debbib, would not consent that Woldi Raphael should comply with any of Subegadis's demands; for, though this Dimsu had been married to Subegadis's sister many years, and had by her four children, still he was his greatest enemy. Finding that nothing could prevent a bloody battle, the priests left the ground, and in the morning the two armies moved upon each other, in the plain between the two camps, when a very hard battle began. Guebra Gura, brother to Subegadis, both by father and mother, and as brave as himself, who acted as Fit-aurari from the time they had defeated the Gas Ischias, was this day too hot, and led his army into the midst of Woldi Raphael's main body, while Subegadis, with his chief force, was still a considerable distance in the rear. Guebra Gura was soon killed, and great slaughter was made on both sides, not a soldier of Guebra Gura's being left alive; this gave courage to Woldi Raphael's army, who made sure of the victory: but Subegadis, hearing of his brother's death, rushed in among them at the head of his brave Agamés, who, with their musketry, for which

they are famous, soon stopped and quelled the courage of Woldi Raphael's army.

The famous Bulla horse belonging to the late Ras, which Ito Guebra rode, was shot, and Guebra taken prisoner. The horse, much prized by the Ras, and given to him by Guxo, on which Woldi Raphael rode, was shot also, but Woldi Raphael had just time to mount another and escape. Dimsu was the first that galloped off, and when Subegadis observed it he called aloud, "Dimsu, my brother-in-law, runs like a monkey." A great number of horses were shot, and their riders put to death. This day was killed Chellica Woldi Michael, captain of all the late Ras's household, and a great favourite. There also fell Gafurhe Tusfu, the head gatekeeper to the Ras; Ito Carse Daure, one of the Ras's secretaries, and more than seven hundred of the soldiers who were in general about the Ras's person.

About three o'clock in the afternoon, as I lay in a very low state and unable to move, I was alarmed by Mr. Coffin, with several neighbouring women and their children, coming to seek protection in my house. I could hear the dreadful cries of those retreating and running for their lives, and the warlike shouts of the pursuers entering the town. I was carried up to a small loft

above the room where I was then lying, where we could see every transaction. Not being able to stand, I lay on a couch, prepared to fire from the window, if they approached; while Mr. Coffin, with some of the servants, well barred the doors below. From this spot I could see the victors killing all whom they caught, and a great body advancing towards my house, some of whom I knew, and I called out to them to keep off, which they readily did and went in pursuit of other prey; till at length a body of Telfains, intermixed with some Womberta Christians, arrived, when I thought it was high time to fire: but the entreaties of those who were with me, and especially the cries of the women, prevented me, as they exclaimed, "If you kill one they will set fire to the thatch and we shall all be burnt alive!" My doors, which were only canes, covered with hides, were soon cut to pieces, and while Mr. Coffin put his head out of the window to tell them not to be rash, and that he would open the door to them, one gave him a prick on the forehead with a spear, telling him to make haste about it. The wound, though small, had covered Coffin's face with blood, and I thought it had been worse than it was. My poor premises swarmed like a hive of bees. The mules and other cattle below were first carried off, then the stripping of every soul

commenced, and then the killing of every male that could be found: the poor women crying out, with their children in their arms, " Mine is a girl! mine is a girl! "

This happened in the odd days of Pogmy, and two days before new year's day, and my house, like all others, at this period, had plenty of maize and *sowa* prepared for the holyday. In one corner of the loft stood a large jar, from which an old acquaintance of mine, who had promised to remain in the house, to see that none of the Telfain or Womberta people killed us, was bailing out the maize by large hornfuls and handing it to his comrades; while, on the same arm with which he drew the maize, he had three of their horrid trophies hanging from his wrist. However, he soon became rather stupified with drinking, and left us to the mercy of the Womberta, Taltals, and Telfains; the former had a great spite against me and Mr. Coffin, for we had been at the plundering and burning of their country twice before with the Ras. They consulted whether they should kill us, but, knowing that Subegadis was our friend, and had frequently lodged at my house, they were afraid, though some caught hold of Mr. Coffin, and, when nearly in the act of taking his life, were hindered by others. They disputed very much what they should do with me; the

people who dragged the cloth from my back told me they only took it to prevent its falling into other hands, but they said no one that knew me would kill me. Luckily some of Subegadis's household happened to come, when not a thing was left in the house but our naked bodies; and they caught hold of me, and carried me in their arms to the Abuna's premises. Coffin, and all that were with us, followed, and here I was seen by Chellica Tusfu, Subegadis's captain of the household, who did all he could to find some of my plundered property, but to no purpose. Mr. Coffin received a cloth from Gabri Yasous; and the next day, when Ogge Nuro, a Mahomedan and acquaintance, came from Antàlo, he gave Mr. Coffin a new cloth. The old Copti Gorgis lent me a mule, and I went with some soldiers of Subegadis to the camp, Mr. Coffin accompanying me on foot. When we arrived at the skirts of the camp, it being late, we were ordered to remain in the tent of Ito Nockindes, who had taken the office of Fit-aurari, instead of Guebra Gura. Here a soldier was discovered to have killed a priest; however he made his escape without being brought to shame. Fifty-six of my poor neighbours were killed, for which reason I had none to help me or take care of my mule, but Subegadis's soldiers.

Next morning, very early, I and Mr. Coffin were taken into the camp of Subegadis, before they had begun to bring in the usual trophies to throw down before his tent. On seeing us he was quite angry, and sent for the Chellica whom he had ordered to look after us ; but, when I had made him sensible that he was not in fault, he became a little more satisfied, and desired the drum to be beat to give up all property plundered at Chelicut, and not to hide any upon pain of death ; neither would he receive any of their trophies till the order was fulfilled. Piles of carpet, silks, household furniture, and even dollars, were soon brought and put in separate heaps before the tent, for the owner to claim. We soon recovered our mules and cattle. I being too ill to look among the crowd, for my property, Mr. Coffin procured, from the heaps, all my cloths and my wife's. I sat in the tent, with Subegadis and his brother Sardie, while the search was made. Mr. Coffin found some of his property, but lost all his dollars.

After every one had declared that he had returned all his plunder taken in the town of Chelicut, the front of the tent was thrown open, and the chiefs began to appear with their troops in turn, boasting as usual and throwing down the proofs of their deeds. Two Taltals were cut

down by Subegadis's orders, in the front of the tent, for presenting the trophies of priests, which from peculiar circumstances are readily distinguished from others. He also cut off the right hand of a soldier, who had secreted a gun belonging to Mr. Coffin, taken at Chelicut ; and, though a good soldier, neither I nor Mr. Coffin could save him, though we begged Subegadis to forgive him.

After burning the town of Woger Arreva, (I and Mr. Coffin had returned in the mean while to Chelicut with the inhabitants) Subegadis marched towards Antàlo ; he gave into my charge two cows and ten sheep, for the Abuna, and next day entered Antàlo. The townspeople had gone out to meet and welcome him with drums, men, women, and children.

Since the death of the Ras, the Gas Guebra Michael, of Temben, had been quiet in his own country, and had not interfered either way, but had been careful in collecting all the strength he could to protect his country ; and, having near five thousand muskets, he was the most powerful chief with whom Subegadis had to contend. Since Subegadis had left Tigré, the Gas Ischias had given battle to his nephew Wolockedan, and had taken him prisoner. Guebra Michael, fearing that Subegadis would soon quit Antàlo for

Temben, sought the most advantageous situation to give battle; he had also agreed with some chiefs, whom Subegadis had beaten, that they should pretend to be friends with him, and persuade him to blockade the Temben army in the place in which they had appointed to trepan him. This was on an almost square height, surrounded by precipices, and thick thorny bushes and trees, close by the river Gibba. Subegadis took the advice, and marched from Antàlo to besiege the Temben camp. On passing Chelicut, he was persuaded by some of the superstitious chiefs to go to the Abuna's premises, to receive his blessing. I told the man whom he sent to call on me to see how I did not to let his master go near the Abuna for his blessing, for those who had before done so had had bad luck, naming Woldi Raphael, Aversaw, Arriah, and Wolockedan, who had been to him for his blessing before they went to battle, and at those times only had been defeated. Subegadis had never seen the Abuna since he arrived in the country, and indeed he is a man who thinks very little of religion, neither has he any superstitious notions belonging to him.

The same day he was led by his treacherous guides, who had forsworn themselves, into the very spot prepared for his overthrow. He ordered the storming of the height, through thick

woods, but the moment he began the attack, those chiefs who formed a part of one of his flanks began to fight against him, while Shum Temben Safu, Guebra Michael's brother, with a strong body, chiefly musket-men, came through the dark woods in his rear. He was soon surrounded, and had no way to retreat except through the river, which was in many places very deep. A shocking slaughter ensued in the water. Subegadis shot Guebra Michael's horse from under him, just as he had mounted, when coming down the height, but to no purpose—he was defeated, and his army cut in pieces. He and his son Augus, and his brothers, Sardie and Guebra Middin, with their sons, were taken prisoners. Arriah, the Ras's son, who had joined the Temben army, was the person into whose hands Subegadis fell. Previously to the action Guebra Michael had given orders not to kill any chief, upon pain of death; however Ito Cauffil, a great man, one of the sons of Shum Sherrer, was killed, and Palambarus Toclú and Ito Musgrove were taken prisoners. On the Temben side, Shum Temben Keros was killed, for which reason numbers of the Temben army wanted to put Subegadis to death, but Guebra Michael would not consent to their demands; he delivered up all the prisoners to Woldi Raphael and the Ras's relations, who

had come and encamped below the hill of Muculla, in the plain of Gambela. Here Guebra Michael threw down his trophies to Woldi Raphael. Dimsu insisted that the eyes of Subegadis and his brothers should be put out, but to this Woldi Raphael would not consent, and they were conveyed to the mountain Arrara in chains.

Meanwhile Gas Ischias had again established himself in Tigré; Arriah had raised a strong army, and was plundering the Zellans of his late father of all their cattle, and Ito Gabras, with Ito Gabra Sardou and Woldi Samuel, whom Woldi Raphael had released from his chains since the death of the Ras, had also appeared with a great army in the districts of Wojjerat. While Woldi Raphael was gone to give them battle, Arriah came to Chelicut with intent to save his father's property that was in the church, and convey it to the *giddums* in the wilderness of Temben. The Abuna also attempted to quit the place, in doing which the populace flew upon his goods and people, cut the goods from the asses' backs, stripped his servants, and gave him a severe reprimand for having so little faith as to attempt to run away from his people; this frightened him so much that he remained calm and quiet.

A few days afterwards we heard that Woldi Raphael had defeated Guebra; for which reason

Arriah came, and offered his assistance to those in Chelicut, in getting them away to the *giddams*, as Woldi Raphael had sworn not to consider Chelicut as a *giddam*, since the Abuna had attempted to desert, and the inhabitants had plundered. Knowing what was likely to happen to Chelicut, I agreed to start with the multitude then preparing to quit, consisting of persons of both sexes, men, women, and children, every one of whom was now determined to depart. I was so weak that my servants were obliged to support me on my mule. Before we had proceeded far, I heard, in our rear, a dreadful screaming among the women ; I looked behind me and saw them running in all directions into the woods, and people, some on horseback and some on foot, chasing them, and taking away their loaded asses and bundles, or whatsoever they carried.

After encountering many difficulties, I got at dark into the *giddam* in Temben, where we had no fear of enemies, except wild beasts. We were in a thick wood, with not less than a thousand in the party, nearly all of whom had been robbed, and provisions were very scarce for supper ; we kept up large fires all night. Next day we marched along the river Abby Arderrer, towards the Tacazzé. In the evening we came to the *giddam* Selassé, or the Trinity church, where we procured

some parched corn from the monks, and remained there for the night. **Next morning every one began to look out for the best place to settle themselves in with their family. Numerous hollow and excavated rocks were in the sides of the mountain, chiefly resorted to by monks; and some, that were formerly empty, were occupied by people who had fled thither with their property since the death of the Ras. Some were in such precipices that they were obliged to have ropes to ascend and descend; but I, being too weak to attempt to be hauled up to any of these holes, got my servants to build me a *gojee*, or hut, with the boughs of trees, and then thatch it with grass. No corn was to be had in this wild spot, which made it a bad place of abode, and what provisions I had ordered to be brought were taken, as well as the asses that carried them. Ozoro Sean, the Ras's wife, daughter of the king Tecla Gorgis, had chosen one of the highest caves in a rock for her residence; one day, one of her servants, in attempting to get up without the rope-ladder being put down for him, fell and rolled down to the river-side, where he was found quite dead.**

I was not many days here before I was obliged to send my servants away to the Gas Guebra Michael, in search of corn, leaving me only two

boys and a female Galla slave with my young daughter. At a short distance from my habitation was a church, where a great number of monks lived, and a little village, well walled round, built with a white clay, very hard, and stones, which they got from a mountain just behind them; no female, either of the human or any inferior species, is permitted to enter this sacred village. Not a church or house can be seen till you are close to them, the valley is so thickly overgrown with large trees and bushes. The nuns live apart in a small miserable village, about a mile distant from the men. Along the banks of the river the monks have many gardens, in which they grow grapes, plantains, limes, pepper, &c. Numbers of them pass their time in keeping watch, in order to prevent the monkeys and birds from devouring the fruit.

Here are many crocodiles, and the species called *ongour*; the former are not so numerous, and all very small, which made me think they migrated to the Tacazzé as they grew large, for I never could see any but such as were quite young. The monks told me that in the month of August, when the river is full or overflowed, the large crocodiles come up from the Tacazzé and lay their eggs on the banks, where there is little shade; leaving them there, they return to the Tacazzé,

before the river has fallen, and by the next year the young ones also go down in the flood, while large ones come up. The monks often kill them when they are very small.

Getting a little better of my disease, I became almost famished with hunger; my poor Galla had for many days supplied us with a seed called *adangores*, in the shape of a French bean, but much smaller, with black and brown spots. I resolved to sell the only mule I had, and bought a cow with the money, cattle being very cheap here, thousands having been brought by their owners for concealment. The flesh of this cow, after I had given a little to my near neighbours, I had cut into *quanta* and dried, but the wild beasts got scent of it, and we were obliged to keep watch all night to protect it.

Here a servant arrived, whom I left at Chelicut, and he informed me that Woldi Raphael had taken Arriah prisoner, who was carried to the mountain Arrara.

Hearing that the Gas Ischias had gained entire possession of Tigré, I was determined to get to that country if possible; and several others having resolved to do the same, we all set out together, the greater part consisting of women. For fear of being robbed, it was agreed that we should never quit the wilderness, but travel slowly, and

keep together till we came to the Gas Ischias's dominions. Happy it was that my servants, who had been gone three weeks to the Gas Guebra Michael, returned that very day, with four bushels of flour, some butter, and honey. They were angry at my selling my mule; but when they found my Galla and the two boys loaded with *quanta*, they were better satisfied. We set out all together, amounting to about two hundred, some carrying their children, others what little goods and provisions they had; which made it all the better for me, for I was too weak to travel fast, or far in a day.

We were six days before we crossed the river Warie, and never saw a path or road the whole of our way. After crossing the Warie, we found ourselves in the Gas Ischias's dominions; the whole distance was but one day's journey by a regular road for a healthy and single person. Our little camp by night appeared very large, for nearly every woman made her own fire to lie down by, fearing the wild beasts. The day we crossed the Warie, my servants killed with stones and sticks a large snake, which the cold morning had so benumbed that it lay in a great coil, waiting for the sun to give it warmth and life. I was determined to stop and have it skinned, but some of our camp kept on, and I never overtook them.

In the evening we reached a village belonging to Ito Nockindes, who had gone to camp with the Gas Ischias in Shiré ; the people gave us bread, milk, and a hut to sleep in. Here I spread the snake's skin to dry ; it measured about nine *peaks*, or nine times the length of my arm, from the elbow to the tip of the finger, and a span. A number of young guinea-fowls were found in its stomach. I had once a skin, which was lost at the plunder of Chelicut, that was given me by the Ras ; it measured twice as much, but was of the same kind.

Being now in a safe part of the country, every one of our party began to make the best of their way. I lodged at a village every night, until I reached Adowa late in the night of the 29th of October. Here I found many friends, who brought me loads of bread, cooked victuals, sheep, maize, and *sowa*. Bashaw Abdalla came to me, and presented me with a good cloth, a large goat, and a great quantity of bread and maize. We were all in a jovial company at supper, but could scarcely eat for listening to each other's story of what had passed in Adowa, Tigré, and Enderta ; I never spent so happy an evening in my life, for I found myself quite well, and among my old friends.

Next day I sent away a servant, with one of

Bashaw Abdalla's, to inform Gas Ischias of my arrival, and want of provisions for the future. The third day they returned with a fat cow, ten pieces of cloth, and an order to the *aristie* for five *interlams* of corn; some servants of the Gas, who came with them, also told me that their master promised to provide for me as Ras Welled Selassé had done.

About this time Baharnegash Yasous, of Dixan, had plundered the *cofla* from Massowa; still, as there was another road, and a *cofla* going to start, I wrote a letter to the British Resident at Mocha and sent it off in the beginning of November. Shortly afterwards the *cofla* was again plundered, and some of the people killed at Gulla; this brought the Gas Ischias from Shiré, who soon recovered part of the plundered property, and burnt the villages of the offenders. Mr. Salt's acquaintance, Ito Novilisk, was one of the head leaders; he was obliged to quit his country and fly to Enderta. While the Gas Ischias was in Shiré, he had released his nephew, Wolokedan, from chains, and had restored him to his former districts; which created jealousy in the hearts of the sons of Nebrid Aram, to whom his districts had been given; so a quarrel took place, and Wolokedan was killed, and Woldi Selassé, son of Nebrid Aram, was speared through the neck,

but recovered. Every thing except cloth was remarkably cheap in Adowa, notwithstanding the calamities in every other part of the country, as the soldiers who brought in plunder sold it for one quarter of the value.

Shortly after the Gas Ischias came to Adowa intelligence was brought that Subegadis had escaped from the mountain Arrara, and had safely arrived with his brothers and his son Ilo, who had raised a pretty strong army. On hearing this, the Gas Ischias marched to Abatsarma,* whence he sent to Subegadis, requesting to be on terms of friendship with him; and in a few days it was settled that Subegadis should not attempt to plunder any of his districts of Tigré, or cross the Teras Moi, nor should the Gas Ischias cross that river towards him; which being settled, the Gas, with a large army, marched, by way of Temben Kolla, to give battle to Woldi Raphael and Guebra Michael, then in Enderta. Woldi Raphael, seeing such a numerous army, avoided an engagement till he had collected all the force he could.

* Abatsarma is a large village not far from Adowa, resorted to by thieves. They were upheld by Ras Michael, who received a certain tax from them yearly, so that their village was never to be searched in quest of lost property, but if taken in the act of robbing they were to be punished like other individuals. There is a church built there by Ras Michael called Ouner Takley Himanute.

The Gas Ischias entered Antàlo, and dwelt for some days about that place. On the day he was obliged to march out to give battle to Woldi Raphael and Guebra Michael, Ito Dimsu and Mr. Coffin had joined the Gas Ischias, the former through relationship; so the latter was obliged to march with his friend. The battle took place at Mugee, in the boundaries of Wojjerat: in the first part of the day the Gas Ischias won the battle, but the Temben army under Guebra Michael, who was a very wary chieftain, came round in the Gas Ischias's rear, and soon put his army into confusion. The Gas Ischias was taken prisoner, and so was Dimsu, Mr. Coffin's friend, and Coffin himself. The Gas Ischias and all the chiefs, as well as Mr. Coffin, were sent to Arrara, as prisoners, till ransomed.

Subegadis, hearing that the Gas Ischias was taken prisoner, marched from his country, and took possession of the districts called the Seven Gillas, Honhila, and Ambasanate.

About this time, several battles were fought in Gojam, between Ackly Marro and Ito Woldi Raphael, and between Guxo and Ras Ilo; the latter had lost almost half of the province of Lasta. Gojee, a Galla chief of Edjow, who had been totally defeated by Guxo, and obliged to resign his country, had entered into the service

of his young relation Homoda. Some years before this Gojee was a terror throughout all the southern provinces of Abyssinia, till conquered in 1807 by Ras Welled Selassé, as mentioned in Mr. Salt's Travels.

Shortly after the defeat of Gas Ischias, Woldi Raphael and Guebra Michael came to the king Tecla Gorgis, at Axum, to receive their *gama*, or to have their titles renewed by him. Subegadis, at the same time, came to terms with them both, and also went to Axum with his army, where the whole three agreed to appoint the king to divide the territories of the late Ras between them. The agreements were sworn to in the church, and each kissed the Crying Cross, already mentioned in this narrative.

The king sent to Subegadis to inform him that if he wished to have the title of Gusmati, he would bestow it upon him, thinking that his bravery had justly entitled him to it. Subegadis, in answer to the king, said, "The king must first, by self-power, maintain his own titles, and then think about titling others;" adding, "If I gain any title it shall be by my own spear." Subegadis well knew that the king merely wanted money, every one who receives a title from him being obliged to pay for it, either in cattle, money, or muskets. However Subegadis's reply did not

please the other two chiefs, and they became jealous, Guebra Michael more so than the other, as he always supposed that Woldi Raphael had treacherously suffered Subegadis to escape from the mountain. On leaving Axum they proceeded to Adowa. Some hundreds of petty chieftains had, during their stay at Axum, received titles from the king, such as Chellica, Allica, Asgas, Bashaw, Connaquo, Palambarus, Cannasmash, Gusmati, &c. Several of my old companions had obtained new names, many of whom had but seldom the common appellation of Ito or Mr.; but the articles of plunder they had fortunately procured brought them any title below a Gusmati. Tecla Gorgis paid no respect to persons; he gave any title they required if they paid well; by which means Tecla became rich. I observed his household servants continually in the market, selling muskets, mules, and horses, which he had received from those to whom he had sold titles.

In the agreement between the three Gusmaties, it was settled that Woldi Raphael should be considered as head and have command in the capitals of Adowa and Antàlo. But Subegadis, leaving Tigré and going to Agamé, his native district, Guebra Michael took advantage, when he saw that nearly the whole of Woldi Raphael's army had marched to Enderta, broke his oath, and sent

word from his camp to Woldi Raphael, who occupied the premises of the late Ras, to quit the town, and make room for him to exercise his authority as Ras. Woldi Raphael would not comply, but judging, with great good sense, that if hostilities took place in the town it would ruin it for ever, he marched about half-way from the town to Abba Garimur, and there encamped, determined not to go off without trying his little force. The Temben army was very numerous, and encamped in the mountain a little above the church Kudus Michael, when a skirmish took place, of which all the townspeople were spectators from their houses; but Woldi Raphael, being overpowered by an army of more than fifteen thousand, was obliged to fly, leaving all his musketry; which made the Temben army still more powerful. Subegadis, hearing of the treacherous affair, came towards Tigré to take part with Woldi Raphael, but the latter had made the best of his way by Giralta to Enderta. Subegadis, being in great haste to assist Woldi Raphael, had not taken time to collect a powerful army. Guebra Michael marched to meet him, and a hard battle was fought, but Subegadis was obliged to retreat to a neighbouring mountain, yet without losing much ground. Guebra Michael returned home to Temben by way of Adowa; he

endeavoured to persuade me also to go to live in Temben, to which I would not agree; he ordered me, however, some provisions and honey, but the *aristies*, upon whom they were ordered, would not advance any thing, as they said, "God knows whether Guebra Michael, Woldi Raphael, or Subegadis, may come back again."

About this time a battle was fought between Ito Barrier, son of the late Safarling Guebra Abba and Palambarus Woldi Takley, brother to Ras Ilo, in which battle the latter was killed.

Adowa remained for some time totally under the care of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, whom Guebra Michael had placed there as governor. Ozoro Wolleta Raphael, his wife, with whom I had formerly been acquainted, behaved exceedingly well to me, and not only allowed me a certain portion of provisions, but permitted me to eat at her table.

CHAPTER XV.

Pearce receives a Box from Mr. Salt—Ethiopian Psalters—Tyran-
nical Proceedings of the Abuna—Discontent of the People—
Defeat of Woldi Raphael by Ito Barrier—Diseases in the Kolla
Countries—Suicide from Grief—Change in the Abuna's con-
duct toward Pearce—Wretched Condition of the People—
Ozoro Wolleta Raphael—Pearce attends her to the Church of
Abuna Pentila—Sinfulness of having two Children at a Birth
—Military Operations—Overtures from Subegadis to Pearce
—Battle between petty Chiefs near Axum—Dimsu defeated
and slain—Discovery of Printed Books—Converts to Maho-
medanism—Pearce's Excursion to Agut-Adite—His Visit to
Bashaw Abdalla—A Political Dreamer—Death of Bashaw Ab-
dalla—Evasion of Justice by Priests—Arrival of the Gas Is-
chias and his Army at Adowa—Many of the Inhabitants leave
the Town—Reception of the Abuna by King Tecla Gorgis at
Axum—Remedy for Sterility in Women.

ABOUT the middle of January, 1817, I received a
letter from Currum Chund, a Banyan at Massowa,
informing me that a Greek had arrived there
from Egypt and brought a box for me. I im-
mediately sent a man to fetch it, but the bearer
would not part with it till he had my receipt for
it; so I was obliged, after anxiously waiting the
arrival of the man I had sent for more than a
month, to send him back again with a receipt.
Here again, on his arrival at Massowa, the bearer
would not deliver the box till he had been paid

the carriage of it. My man, having no money, was obliged to apply to Currum Chund, who satisfied the Greek ; and luckily, by a safe road, it arrived with the *coffa* in the middle of March. How happy was I, on opening it, to find that it came from Mr. Salt, and that he had been appointed consul-general of Egypt ! as it afforded me a prospect of relief from actual misery, should my disease again return and render me an absolute cripple.

The box contained several articles for myself and some Ethiopian Psalters, to be distributed among the Abyssinians, and if possible to get in exchange some of their Scriptures. The superstitious people not only found fault with the print being too small, and with the sacred names, because they were not printed in red ink ; but the perfect similarity of the books made them suppose that they had been completed by some supernatural being ; though some of superior knowledge allowed them to excel any of their manuscripts. Although I could not obtain anything in exchange, I could find numbers of beggars for them. Bashaw Abdalla having given me a mule, I took them to different monasteries, where the priests found many faults with the books, but accepted them thankfully, and on my return would present me with either a sheep, a

goat, or a little honey ; but this is customary on paying a common visit.

In April I received a letter from the East India Company's agent at Mocha, informing me that he had sent over to Massowa two parcels of the Psalter, which had been sent by Mr. Salt, and that he had paid sixty dollars for conveying them from Mocha to Massowa. I immediately sent to inform him, that the price he had been charged was too exorbitant, being as large a sum as Captain Rudland paid for a vessel freighted with horses, which I used to send over to him. I again sent the same man who went before to fetch them from the coast ; he returned with them in June, and I began to distribute them as I had done the former.

The country about Adowa had been pretty quiet under the government of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, till the Abuna arrived from Temben, when every thing began to be in confusion. He had taken up his residence at Kudus Gorgis Moi Gogua, when he demanded the districts belonging to the former Abunas, which are known by the name of Arder Abuna ; but those districts having been for many years under the government of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, he refused to give them to the Abuna. This caused the Abuna to begin his old tricks, forbidding, by what the Abyssinians

call *guzzart* [interdict] any one in the Tigré dominions to eat, drink, draw water, or break wood, &c., till they had compelled Guebra Amlac to deliver up the government of the country called Arder Abuna. The people were for some time stubborn, and did not comply with the *guzzart*, till at last he shut the churches, and the priests being always ready to obey, no service was to be performed in the churches, no prayers to be said over the dead, or any *fettart* or *toscar* to be given; and any individuals taking part with Guebra Amlac were no longer to be considered as Christians, but ranked as Mussulmans.

The priests began to assemble in a gang, and raise the people against Guebra Amlac, who was obliged to give way, and the country was put under the Abuna's authority. In a short time the Abuna began to be so oppressive that the poor could not live, and those of a higher class began to murmur, indeed none, but those whom he had put in authority under him, were contented. He had demanded from the inhabitants double the former duties paid to Guebra Amlac, and he had more than doubled the quantity of corn, honey, and cloths, which they had been accustomed to furnish; and, when displeased with any of his subjects, he took away their oxen, their lands, and even their dwellings, and disposed of them

to others as he chose. In every village and town there was want, until the oppressed overcame those in authority under the Abuna, and they were obliged to fly to their master's premises for protection; but the Abuna, being fearful, denied them protection within his walls, and they were obliged to fly from the district entirely. A great multitude of the oppressed people assembled round his premises, which so terrified him that he was obliged to call Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac to come and protect him. At first he refused to attend, till the Abuna sent word that he had restored the government to him, and that he would be contented with the original income of the Abunas, and receive it at his hands. On hearing this, Guebra Amlac waited upon him, and things were settled; but the Abuna would not forgive the people, who had murmured against him, and by *guzzart* pronounced them excommunicated. This only made the people worse, to think they should have the comforts of their faith refused by him, after they had subscribed to bear his expences from Egypt, and to pay him for confirming them in their faith. Those excommunicated were constantly disputing with those whom the Abuna had selected for his service, and many villages were ruined, and lives were lost, till the Abuna was obliged to take off his *guzzart*,

and the government was quiet for some time under Guebra Amlac.

Every thing remained pretty quiet till towards the fall of the rains, when Woldi Raphael began to move. He marched from Antàlo in August, during the fast for the Blessed Virgin, against Ito Barrier, who had raised a considerable army in Bora and Salora. After a very severe battle, Woldi Raphael's army was defeated and himself taken prisoner, with a great number of other chiefs, some of whom, in the time of Ras Welled Selassé, were the most powerful to the eastward of the Tacazzé, namely, Palambarus Toclù, and Chellica Comfu, whom, as well as others, Barrier released for a heavy ransom. Gusho, brother to Woldi Raphael, who had escaped when their army was defeated, fled immediately to the mountain Arrara, and released Arriah, his cousin, from chains. The troops then in the country, siding with the Ras's relations, joined Arriah and Gusho, and kept the mountain Arrara, till the latter was obliged to give it up to Barrier as a ransom for his brother Woldi Raphael. Arriah entered Antàlo, where he was joined by Aversaw, but being a cripple, from the wound he had received in the battle with Bashaw Wollock-edan, and not able to take part in the battle which he had to expect, he was appointed gover-

nor of Antàlo, which was formerly his father's and his own situation in the time of the Ras. Woldi Raphael remained a considerable time with Barrier after he had gained his freedom, they having been from their infancy companions and brothers-in-law.

During the month of September, several messengers passed through Adowa from the Ras Guxo and the Gusmati Hilier Mariam to Subegadis. Guebra Amlac, hearing of their being in the town, made great efforts to apprehend them, but to no purpose.

Several days of heavy rain fell about the middle of this month, which is not common, and was supposed to have occasioned a plague in the Kolla parts of Shiré and Deverer Abba, which killed several hundred of the inhabitants of Tsumbella, as well as affected other Kolla, or hot parts of Abyssinia. These Kolla countries are in general very unhealthy, in the latter end of August and the beginning of September, which concludes the rainy season, when the sun has great power. The small-pox also appeared in the Mahomedan part of the town of Adowa, which disorder was brought thither by a *cofla* of slaves, who were forced in consequence to depart for Massowa, and the disorder soon disappeared.

An old woman, about this time, had the mis-

fortune to lose two of her children, and when she saw the second, a daughter, expire before her eyes, she became so frantic with grief that she strangled herself. Some people, entering to visit the patient, found her dead, and her mother hanging lifeless from a beam, by a leathern strap round her neck, though her feet could touch the ground. A young man and woman, the surviving offspring of the old woman, being soon informed of the event, ran in a distracted state to behold their dead relatives, while, according to custom, other relations were sent about the town to warn the people to bury their friends and kindred. Here great disputes arose: the relations wished the mother and daughter to be buried in one grave, but the priests would not consent to this. The daughter was therefore buried within, and the mother without, the church walls of Kudus Michael, though these priests did not deny her a *fettart* or *toscar*, for the sake of the money and other property they receive on such occasions.

The *cofla* to and from Massowa, which had been detained by the natives of Dixan and Arli, was suffered to pass; Arli was joined by too many districts, to whom they were related, for Dixan to contest any longer, the Nayib of Massowa also taking part with Arli; it was at last

determined that Arli should be the regular road for the *cofla*.

On the 22nd of this month, the Abuna came from Kudus Gorgis to perform service in the church Kudus Michael; he created great disturbances among the priests of the church, and dismissed the high priest, Rushe Woldi Yassous, from his office, for having married two wives.

The day after, having heard that I received most of my support from Bashaw Abdalla, the Abuna sent me twelve dollars, desiring that I would not live upon the alms of a Mahomedan. I was on the point of refusing it; but, being persuaded that it would be better to keep peace with him, I went to his premises to thank him. This sudden change made me imagine that he had received some reprimand from Egypt, for his unjust treatment of me.

In this month also, Guebra Michael of Temben marched towards Enderta. Arriah, not being able to give battle, abandoned Antàlo, and went to Wojjerat. Ras Ilo of Lasta, who had come to terms with Ras Guxo, attacked Waxum Twarrack of Socotta, who had been in the service of Barrier at the time his brother Woldi Takly was killed, and one of his sons; the other two were taken prisoners.

October. In the beginning of this month Subegadis encamped in the districts of Logo, and plundered and burnt the whole of the district belonging to the sons of Baharnegash Subhart: he also took a great number of cattle from the inhabitants of Dixan, which he offered to return if Baharnegash Yasous would collect and return to the poor *cofla* their plundered property; but it was too late, for it had all been sold to other *coflas*. The *cofla* from Gondar brought intelligence of the Gusmati Ackly Marro being surrounded by the rebels of Gojam, and Agow Mudda. Ras Guxo would not march to his assistance, as the people of Begemder and Lasta were in an unsettled state.

The Abuna, seeing I had become a great favourite of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac and his wife Wolleta Raphael, sent to me to become a messenger between him and Guebra Amlac. He demanded Guebra Amlac's house, but the latter would not at first comply, as it would prove a great loss to him in moving his property to another part of the country; but he told the Abuna he would collect people and build him another house as good as his own, on any spot of ground he would point out; accordingly the town drum was beat to warn the people to assemble to build the Abuna's dwelling, but few appeared.

For some time past people, formerly tradesmen and petty merchants of the town of Adowa, had been returning from Gondar, whither they had fled at the death of the Ras, to keep clear of the calamities which were sure to follow ; but the present situation of Gondar was worse, on account of the governor, Ackly Marro, not being able to return from Agow Mudda. The Tigré tyrants and rebels are not so bad as the Galla or Amhara ; the former only threaten with a drawn knife, or spear, to make people bring out their property, and are content when once they have stripped them naked ; but the latter do not cease tormenting, even if they have found a considerable quantity of property, and, supposing that there is still more to be obtained, they are guilty of all kinds of barbarity to discover it. They tie pieces of broken earthen pots, made hot in the fire, to the temples of their victims, pour hot water into their ears, and make them sit upon a hot iron plate on the fire, such as they bake their bread on, with their hands and feet tied. If such treatment does not make the sufferers bring out what they really have often not got, they leave them half-dead. Such barbarity is frequently known in Gondar. Since Ackly Marro has been in Agow Mudda, some troops of horse, belonging to the king Abdelcarder of Sennaar, made an attempt

to plunder the districts of Ras-el-feel, but they were driven back by the chiefs stationed there under Ackly Marro.

October the 11th. I was sent for by Ozoro Wolleta Raphael at cock-crow, begging I would accompany her to the church of Abuna Pentila, which is on the mountain of Pentila, near Axum. The great holiday for Abuna Pentila is always kept on the 6th of this month, but the unsettled state of the country would not permit the inhabitants of Adowa to attend on that day. I very readily agreed to the Ozoro's request, and she sent me a clean cloth, &c. On our road, she continually asked me questions relative to my country, the manners of the king and great people, and particularly the customs of the females; indeed, the number of strange questions she put to me would have made any one ashamed who had not been used to their manners, but, if I had not answered them, it would perhaps have offended her. More than one thousand women were on the road to this church, and not more than fifty men, who were the soldiers of Wolleta Raphael. Notwithstanding the unsettled state of the country, the women were in general dressed with all their silver ornaments; and those who had been fearful of dressing splendidly were reproached by the others. When we

had ascended the mountain, we had to go a little way on foot to the entrance of the church, where Ozoro made a bow to the ground, and kissed, as well as the whole assembly, the corner-stones of the gateway. The Ozoro, observing that I had not done the same, spoke to me very sharply, or rather holloped out and said, "What, Pearce, are you not afraid of Abuna Pentila's cursing you?" I said, "If he has the power of cursing, he would rather curse me for kissing a stone." "For God's sake," said she, "don't let the priests hear you." We afterwards entered the church on the side where the women are allowed to sit or stand; she had her book opened before her, and I took a station in front to turn over the leaves as she read them. After which, the sacrament being administered to those who desired it, the Kushe Gowerse, or head-priest, gave her his blessing, and the people began to disperse. However, she had something to say to me, and, in attempting to rise, she pulled me quite close to her by my cloth, and ordered her servants to withdraw to a little distance. She then began earnestly to inquire into the character of the late Ras's wife Ozoro Setches, with whom I had lived for some time during the commencement of my residence in Abyssinia. She also inquired after Ozoro Mantwaub and Ozoro Sean, wives to the

late Ras ; indeed, she bothered me so much that I wished her to leave the church and said, "*Meata* [mistress] it is late in the day." "That is nothing," said she, "my mules are good. I asked you to come to church purposely to talk with you, and I hope you will always make my house your own, when Fit-aurari may be absent, otherwise I shall stop your allowance of corn," &c. I promised I would, and we left the church, mounted our mules, and rode home.

This lady is considered one of the most charitable and virtuous women in Abyssinia. She is the daughter of Ito Zogo, brother to the Gas Kefla Yasous, and cousin to Ras Welled Selassé, who was extremely fond of her, and gave her a number of large districts. She has six children by Guebra Amlac. I used to attend upon her every day, for which she increased my provisions, and frequently made me presents of sheep and goats. One day she had another long discourse with me, and asked me every question she possibly could, about the different nations of Europe. She also begged that I would keep secret a question she was going to put to me, and that I would answer it sincerely. I promised I would, and accordingly she ordered every one of the family out of the room except her two daughters. She then began by saying, "Don't your priests and

men of learning consider it a sin for a woman to have two children at a birth?" I answered, "They do not, they rather consider that she is blessed." She said, "Then why should the priests of our country pretend to know more than the learned men of your country pretend to know? Our priests say that God made Esau, the son of Isaac, hairy all over his body, like a beast, to show that it was not natural for women to bear two children at once, as Eve never did so, though she was the first that created sin. Isaac, being wise enough to know the sin, would own Jacob only to be naturally born; so he cursed Esau and blessed Jacob." I then interrupted her, and said, "Esau was intended to have had the blessing, but he lost it through the artfulness of his mother, who deceived Isaac in consequence of his eyes being dim with old age." "That is true, Pearce," replied she; "some of our priests say so too, but they say that God was the occasion of the mother's artfulness, otherwise Isaac would have blessed Esau, whom God did not love." She then said, "See my two daughters," who were by her side; "these were both borne by me at once; this was the first that came into the world," putting her hand upon the one called Sinecart, "and do you think I can love her sister, although the father of my soul (meaning

her priest) ordered me to fast four months from the time these children were brought forth? This he knew I could never survive, having two children to suckle ; so I obtained his forgiveness by paying the amount of five *wakeahs* of gold." She continued, " I am extremely glad you have declared that in your country there is not thought to be any sin in this circumstance; but for God's sake let no one know what we have been talking of."

After this she began to inquire into the state of subordination in my country, and in what manner the soldiers were kept under their masters. " You see," continued she, " that our soldiers leave us as they please, and join our greatest enemy. If we give them too much indulgence they want to be masters ; if we give them too little they grumble and will not obey, and if we are angry they abuse us and even threaten us; so we are obliged to talk with them and give answers to any questions they may take the liberty to ask us, and frequently to promise them something that we are not able to give. In this manner we make shift to keep them, though the less we give them the better they are." She appeared highly satisfied, and I left her, promising to attend her every day.

October 13th. Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac

marched from Tigré to join the Temben army, under the command of Guebra Michael, at Mugga in Giralta, but before he had proceeded far he was ordered to return. Their intent was to march against Subegadis, but in attempting to do so Hilier Mariam and Bashaw Wolokedan began to move towards Temben in their rear. In this manner Guebra Michael could not quit his country, nor Subegadis his, to march towards Temben, on account of the number of districts, namely, Digan, Logo, Avarro, and the country of Baharnegash Subhart's son, not being under subjection, and which, having had their towns and villages burnt by him, would revenge themselves on Agamé during his absence. The Enderta could not march against Temben, for fear of Barrier in their rear, and in this manner all remained quiet for some time; but it was impossible for people with property, or even with clothing, to travel in safety from one district to another. Every messenger or person going on business went naked.

Ras Ilo, being satisfied with the revenge he took of Waxum Twarrack's sons for the death of his brother, came to terms with Barrier, and, to dry up the blood on both sides, gave Barrier his brother Woldi Takley's daughter. Though Ras Ilo gave his niece to the assailant of her

father, as if he intended to dry up blood, as the Abyssinians term it, it was also to form a relationship, seeing that Barrier had become powerful, and able to protect him in case he should be obliged to seek an asylum in his dominions through the tyranny of Guxo ; who, he had every reason to expect, would never be a true friend, though he had for the present made an alliance with him.

On the 14th of this month, the Abuna again broke out, and had resort to his former scheme of laying a *guzzart* on the people, who did not take part with him against Guebra Amlac, by which the latter was obliged to give the Abuna his premises to satisfy him, and he sent his wife Wolleta Raphael with the family to live at Arsi, a beautiful village about ten miles north-east of Adowa. To this place I had frequently to go to attend on Ozoro Wolleta Raphael, and on those occasions I used to procure a number of the eggs of wild geese, and different species of ducks, numbers of which I used to put under hens to hatch, and, greatly to the astonishment of the Abyssinians they always brought forth young, which settled many arguments I had held before with some, who would insist that a hen could not hatch any other eggs but her own. They would even call me mad, when I asserted that I could bring forth

the chickens without the aid of a hen or cock ; I also convinced them that they might bring forth guinea fowl or partridges in their premises by putting the eggs under a hen, but they are so superstitious that they believe every thing out of the common course of nature to be a sin, and said, if I advised them to practice such experiments, it was tempting them to commit one.

A servant of Subegadis came to me with a present of honey, who told me that his master wished me to come and live with him in Agamé, assuring me he would do all in his power to make me happy ; to which I answered that, were I to accept the offer, it would be placing me out of the way of ever holding any communication with my own country, either by letter or message, but that I heartily thanked him for his kindness. I had formerly presented him with one of my Psalters neatly bound in red morocco. Though he could not then read, he kept it as a handsome article, and was frequently showing it to the priests and visitors.

I learnt from the servant that his master had taken his late brother Guebra Guro's wife to himself, and had sent away his own wife, the daughter of Ito Debbib, from dislike to her brother Dimsu, but kept the children with him ; he took to his brother's wife immediately on his

escape from Arrara, and had a son by her. In Hamazen and the north country of Abyssinia, it is a general custom to take the brother's wife after his death ; this act is called *worras*, and in those parts if a man dies without leaving children and leaves behind him a brother, who does not take his remaining wife to endeavour to raise up children to his brother's name, the latter is reckoned a sinner. The same custom is found in some parts of Amhara, though very seldom ; but with the Galla the practice is universal.

During this month a very desperate battle took place between two petty chiefs, Ito Seraphel of Arcar Shiré and Ito Dimsu Middervi ; this battle was fought near Axum. Seraphel, observing that Ito Dimsu had more than once plundered the *cofla* from Walkayt to Adowa, which passed through his district, sent word to Dimsu to desire he would have more regard for his own person and character, telling him, as there was no king or Ras to protect the poor and honest Negadis of that country, it would be more to his credit to protect them than unlawfully plunder them as he had done ; and warning him that he intended to conduct the next *cofla* from Walkayt through his territories, and, if he stopped them, not only for a general plunder but under any unlawful pretence what-

ever, he would protect them. This enraged Dimsu so much, that he mustered all his forces, and lay in wait for the *cofla*, in a position which he thought most to his advantage in case Seraphel should be as good as his word. When the *cofla* came with Seraphel at its head, Dimsu opposed its passage unless it paid a duty that he himself had proposed. Accordingly, Seraphel desired the merchants to return some distance on the road with their goods; after which he began to approach Dimsu, who had taken a strong position in his rear. A battle soon commenced, and Seraphel, after several hours, drove Dimsu to the height in his rear, where he again renewed the battle. Dimsu, after losing nearly all his men, endeavoured to fly, but Seraphel came up with him, and, with his own spear, killed him and mangled his body in a barbarous way, cutting his flesh, and giving it to his soldiers to carry and throw to the dogs of the villages as they passed. A servant of mine, who was returning with the *cofla* from Walkayt, whither I had sent him, told me that Seraphel had only fifty-six shieldsmen and four matchlocks, and Dimsu had above one hundred shieldsmen and eight matchlocks. At first the victory seemed to incline to Dimsu's side; but Seraphel's were stout young men, and nearly all his relatives, while Dimsu's were

only the common *wotadas* of different countries, some of them formerly belonging to the Ras. Many priests and chiefs upbraided Seraphel for having so barbarously treated the body of Dimsu, but he made no other reply than by vowing that the carcase of a man who had been a mean robber deserved no better grave.

One day the Abuna sent for me, to show me some Feringee books, as he termed them; these books were a great number of bibles in Latin and Arabic, some in Latin and Ethiopic, and some in the Italian language. He said, "See, we have found out your secret place." I told him I did not know what he meant; he said "Read your country books." I told him they were not of my country; he persisted that I was a liar. He also shewed me a large chest full of pictures and books, which had never been used from the time they were printed; they were found in the monastery of Oun Aregouhe Deverer Damo; they were printed in Vienna, in 1785. The Abuna was delighted, and said to me several times, "I have found you out at last." He would not give credit to the high-priest, who assured him that the books were in the monastery long before I came into the country, and he himself did not know European dates or figures when I showed him them. However, he destroyed the

whole ; some he burnt and some he threw into the river Moi Gogu. A man happened to save one from destruction, which he brought to me ; it consisted of portions of the Scriptures in different languages, and a vocabulary of the French, Italian, Greek, and Persian languages. This book I preserved and gave to Mr. Salt. The Abyssinians declared that the Abuna was mad when he destroyed such fine books, with religious pictures, but he declared that they were the devil's books. By what I could learn from the priests of Deverer Damo, these books were brought into the country by a Roman Catholic priest of Gondar, of the name of Abba Tobias, who had been sent to Rome by those of that religion to bring a bishop, in which he at first succeeded, but after all the library of the intended bishop had been forwarded, circumstances happened which prevented him from reaching Abyssinia. Abba Tobias died soon after in Hamazen.

October 26th. I was this day sorry to see that two women and four boys were converted to Mahomedanism, without any notice being taken by the Christians, although such crimes would have been punished most barbarously but a few months before, not only in those who had turned to the religion, but also in those who had converted them. The complaint was laid before

Guebra Amlac, who very coolly said, "It is enough to make us all turn Mussulmans, when our patriarch is continually perplexing us and making us fast when we are hungry, to satisfy his own ends." Several people from Maitsha and Wadler had been here for many days, almost starving to death with hunger, and the Abuna had put off giving them his blessing from day to day, for which alone they had come, till they had sold all their necessities ; and numbers were glad to seek employment with the Mahomedans, who kidnapped them and sent them down to the coast, where they were sold for slaves.

Bashaw Abdalla, who is the head of the Mahomedan tribe in Abyssinia, being very ill and likely to die, having reached the advanced age of eighty-five, had given great encouragement to the Christians in distress to convert them, and he succeeded even upon his death-bed. Being one of my best friends, I went to see him ; he appeared to be well aware of his approaching end, and begged I would call and see him frequently, which I promised to do, as soon as I should return from Agut-Adite, whither I was just going to pay a visit to Woldi Selassé, son of Nebrid Aram, who had sent his servants to ask me to come.

I left Adowa in the afternoon, and by sun-set

reached Axum, where I stopped till next morning. I again set out at daylight, and in about three hours came to the town of Segumma. Here an old friend brought me a goat, a jar of *sowa*, and some bread; after I had eaten I again set out, and a little before sun-set arrived at a village, consisting of five small huts, the residence of Zellans, who gave me plenty of milk, and lodged me in one of the best of their huts. In the morning I set out very early, and never stopped, except to give my mule water, till I arrived at the town of Agut-Adite. It was about three o'clock in the afternoon when I arrived; I was informed that Ito Woldi Selassé and his brothers were encamped at the Tacazzé, whither they had gone to meet the Gas Hilier Mariam. The Allica of the town gave me provisions and lodgings, and I set out early next morning and reached the camp about four o'clock in the afternoon. The sons of Nebrid Aram were encamped on the east, and the Gas Hilier Mariam on the west bank of the Tacazzé, near the spot where the river Warie empties itself into the Tacazzé. I was very well received by Woldi Selassé and his brothers. They had met here purposely to swear alliance with Hilier Mariam. Woldi Selassé had sent for me merely to beg for a little English powder for priming,

supposing me to have such an article, as I had frequently supplied him with a little some years before. The morning here was so very cold that I wished to return the day after I came. The mountain Amba Hai appears very close to this spot; it was then covered with snow. I assured Woldi Selassé that I had none of my English powder left, and on the evening of the day after my arrival, he and his brother, Woldi Michael, gave me a fat cow each.

November 1st. I left the camp very early, and travelled very slowly with my cows. In the course of the day I rested a little and took some refreshment, while my cows, which were very fat, grazed or lay down under the shade of the trees. After dark I came to a village, called Narder, where the only acquaintances I had were absent, and I found no friends. Next morning I set out at daylight, travelling as the preceding day, and at dark reached the small village of the Zellans, who treated me with the same hospitality as before. Next morning I set out before daylight, and travelling as on the former days, reached Houstá, a large town, belonging to the sons of Nebrid Aram, where I was well lodged and provided for the night. Next day I set out early, and in about three hours passed Axum to my left; my cows being very lazy, I did not reach Adowa this day

as I expected, but lodged at a friend's house at Bate Yohannes Almerder, and next morning went to Adowa, leaving my cows, till I should want them, with one of my old servants, Aubbart. In the evening I went to see my friend Bashaw Abdalla, whom I found in much the same situation as when I left him, except that he appeared weaker and his eyes had grown very dim. He told me that he felt no pain, but that his weakness was through old age—the first Abyssinian I ever knew to confess himself to be old. It grieved me much to see him so severe towards his eldest son, Agge Sardoc, in making his last will. He declared to the people, who were appointed to be witnesses, that he left all he possessed in the world to his youngest son Mohammed, begotten of Ozoro Caffi Galla, and that Mohammed might have the care of his sisters and other younger relations. This he said in the presence of Sardoc, who cried bitterly, and said only, “God comfort the soul of my aged father! I am young, and want nothing.” He also shewed no affection to his second son Zanu, because he paid no attention to him during the time of his imprisonment, but, on the contrary, made away with his father's property in an extravagant manner, in place of applying it to his release.

November 10th. All the townspeople were

formed into large parties, and had posted themselves in different parts of the outskirts of the town, each party crying out by turns *Isge Marro Christos!* [Forgive us, oh Lord Christ !]. This alarm and uproar was created among the poor weak-minded people through the dream of a woman, who is a great poetess and a professed interpreter of dreams. She told the populace that she had dreamed, for three following nights, that four great chiefs came near to the town and encamped, naming them, and the different situations they were encamped on ; namely Subegadis, with his army, at Kudus Michael ; the Gas Woldi Raphael, with his army at Kudus Gabriel ; the Ras Guebra Michael at Mariam ; the Gas Ischias at Kudus Gorgis. She continued to dream that each of these chiefs killed more than one hundred cows at a time, and gave their soldiers as much as they chose to drink for three days. She said the interpretation was, that these cows were great people of that town who were to die in a battle that was to last three days ; and, unless the whole of the population, great and small, made a cry unto God for three successive days, nothing could prevent such a dreadful destruction in their capital.

During this month Ito Barrier returned the *negaret* [the drums] of the late Ras to the

Gas Woldi Raphael, from whom he had captured them ; and he also released the Gas Ischias out of prison from the mountain Arrara. The Gas Ischias had also begun to recruit, and the sons of Nebrid Aram had joined him.

Bashaw Abdalla, who died yesterday evening, was buried this morning, and, after the people had done making their supplication, as before mentioned, numbers attended the ceremony and cry over his remains. He had been very charitable to the poor, both Christians and Mahomedans, but the *negadi*, or merchants, had but little respect for him, being a strict and just man in his office of head custom-house officer. To-day there were also some priests, belonging to the monastery Abba Garimur, brought before the justice of the town, under Guebra Amlac, for having been found selling four boys and a girl to the *cofla* going to Massowa ; these infamous wretches got off with a little bribery. The priests of Axum and Deverer Damo, as well as Abba Garimur, are frequently known to be guilty of such inhuman acts ; but they are in general rich enough to get off by bribery, when detected by the children's parents and brought before a justice.

Adowa remained pretty quiet, on account of its being a capital, which is in time of peace

resorted to by every chief who has premises therein.

Antàlo, in like manner, as well as Gondar, Socotta, and other capitals of provinces, are never troubled, let the war be ever so fierce, except it be by a foreign power, such as the Galla or the Taltal. Nothing was heard of at this time but districts fighting against districts in all parts of the country. The town of Adowa was swarming with beggars, whose fathers or husbands had been killed and their habitations burned.

November 19th. On my return from fishing, where I had been the greater part of the night, I heard several bands of trumpeters and drummers at a distance, and was soon informed that the Gas Ischias was coming into the town. His army soon appeared from between the mountains, on the Abba Garimur road. The people were much alarmed at his coming so suddenly, and numbers began to fly with their property to the Abuna's premises. Instead of going home, I advanced to meet him; his army did not exceed five thousand, and they were chiefly the soldiers of Nebrid Aram. When he entered the town, he did not take possession of the Ras's premises, but occupied his own old house. He very severely rebuked the people who had fled to the Abuna saying "They could not be my friends,

or they would not have had a bad opinion of me.” Adowa was once plundered in the time of Gas Woldi Gabriel, by Ito Levassey of Shagney; but his family have borne the disgrace ever since, and they are at present reduced to the lower class. The Gas Ischias had merely come to Adowa to receive the duties of the customs of the *coflas*, from the sons of Bashaw Abdalla, who had been placed in the office by the order of the Gas Guebra Michael, and to accompany the Abuna to Axum. On the next day, in the evening, I received a box from Mr. Salt, with several medicines and other articles, some money and another supply of Psalters. I was very lucky, for part of the *cofla* had been robbed at Logo.

November 20th. The Abuna left his premises for Axum, and the Gas Ischias with him; several of the towns-people also set out with the Abuna. I had made preparations to start with my wife, neighbours, and friends, at midnight; at which time we accordingly set out, and at daylight we were at the camp of the Gas Ischias, where the Abuna had encamped during the night. Nobody was allowed to pass, till the Abuna had mounted his mule, and set out in the front of the multitude. The Gas Ischias sent his horsemen to ride in the front of the Abuna, which seemed to

please him, while the Gas rode a long way in his rear, with the rest of his army, and the inhabitants of Adowa and other villages lying in that direction. The plain about Axum was crowded with people from all parts of Abyssinia, even from Shoa; there were thousands—this being the yearly holyday Sean-er-Mariam, when all Abyssinia comes on a pilgrimage to Axum. Though well acquainted with every body in Axum, I could scarcely get a lodging from not having given notice of my coming.

The king, Tecla Gorgis, received the Abuna at the church-gate: after the latter had given the king some reprimands for his former conduct, the king took an oath to follow the Copti religion, before which he had been of the Greek. When the service of the church was over, which is performed by the priests, dressed in their ornaments of gold and silver, velvets and silks, with crowns of silver and gold on their heads, all walk in procession, with music, three times round the church, after which the sacrament is administered to those who choose to receive it. The Abuna issued an order to the multitude, that those who did not follow the Copti religion were excommunicated and cursed. As soon as we had seen what we purposely went for, and my wife had given some wax to the church, we returned to

Adowa, where we arrived about ten o'clock at night. Just as we arrived, we heard loud cheering at the house of a neighbour, who had sent some candles to the church by my wife; it being her time of lying-in, and consequently she could not attend herself. We counted the cheers, which were twelve, proclaiming the birth of a male child, a female only having seven. It is a custom among the Abyssinians for the women, who are present, to cheer when a child comes into life.

My wife brought home some *suvel*, a mixture of the clay, or earth, of the church-yard before mentioned in my narrative; and it gave the poor lying-in woman great comfort to see the cross, with this *suvel*, put on her infant's forehead.

While at Axum I distributed several books to the priests of different churches; I gave two, in handsome binding, to the king and his wife, Ozoro Cottser. Several of our neighbours did not return from Axum for seven days afterwards, superstitious customs having caused them to remain for that time. It is common in Abyssinia, in several cases, especially when a woman is barren, or a young girl is desirous of having a child, to prepare certain articles, such as wax, candles, bread or *sowa*, against any yearly

holyday. If for a child, they in general pray to the Blessed Virgin on her holyday; though numbers go to different churches, and at different and great distances. Every day, when they attend, they offer some present to the priest, who gives them a small bell to hold in their hands, and they stand in one posture, saying a prayer over and over again, for several hours, till they are entirely fatigued. This they do for several days successively. If Providence should bestow upon them a child within a year or two afterwards, they call it after the saint to whom they had petitioned.

The Abuna still continued his disputes with Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, and excommunicated the priests of Kudus Gorgis Moi Gogua, and ordered the house of the high-priest Kushe Aftus to be burnt, and his lands and cattle taken from him.

CHAPTER XVI.

Pearce goes by invitation to the camp of the Gas Ischias—He proceeds to Axum—The Temben army attacks the Gas—Perilous situation of Pearce—Rout of the Gas's troops—Inquiry of the King concerning books sent from England—Operations of the Gas Guebra Michael—Efforts of the Abuna to prevent a Battle—Pearce is sent on a pacific mission to Subegadis—Death of the King Itsa Tecla Gorgis—Pacification of the Chiefs—Festival of Tumkut—Defeat of Hostile Chiefs by Guebra Michael's brother Safu—A Foundling brought up by Pearce claimed by his Mother—Renewal of hostilities between Guebra Michael and Ischias—Movements of Chiefs—Pearce goes to Axum—Giddam of Deverer Abba—Wooden Bell—Intemperance of Priests—Environs of Deverer Abba—Halt in the Wilderness—Rapacity of Hyænas—Ito Levassey—Jedarro—Timbilla—Pearce returns to Adowa—He goes to the camp of the Gas Guebra Michael—Buckerha.

DECEMBER 1st. On returning from fishing with Berberrer, the morning being very cold we had met with little success, I found at my house a servant of the Gas Ischias, who informed me that his master had sent him to call me, and that I was to be, by the day after the morrow, at Zonze, where the Gas was to encamp. I at first thought of making an excuse, by saying I was unwell, but, as the servant had seen me return from fishing on so cold a morning, I could assign no such excuse, but promised to be there, as he

had ordered. After writing some letters, to send off to Egypt by the *cofla*, I prepared some provisions for myself and servants, and set out on the evening of the third of December. I lodged for the night at an acquaintance's house in Longuamte, and next morning set out and arrived about ten o'clock in the camp at Zonze. I heard on the road that the Temben army was encamped at Abba Sarnaer, about eight miles only from the Gas Ischias's camp. When I entered the tent of the Gas, he told me that the king had sent a servant from Axum to call me, and that I must go to Axum. After eating and drinking, as is customary with the Gas Ischias, it was late in the evening, so we agreed to start, after taking a little rest.

About cock-crow my servant saddled my mule, and we set off: not a servant was then stirring in the camp, and there was no suspicion of anything unusual happening. At day-break, as I was just opposite to the mountain Damot, while discoursing with the king's servant and my own concerning the Temben army and the Gas Ischias's, which would beat, &c., we all of a sudden heard, and then saw behind us, the Gas Ischias and his horsemen; before this we thought we had heard a firing of muskets; which had occasioned our discourse. They were at full speed, in the great-

est confusion, his soldiers a long way in the rear, running in complete disorder, and the Tembens cutting them up in the rear. The king's and my servants saw it was time to run off, but I, not being able to make my escape on foot, began flogging my old mule to get him to gallop, but to no purpose, he being too old and I too weak to effect an escape. I would have given the world for a horse at the moment. I said to myself, knowing the Abyssinian soldiers spare none they come up with at such a critical moment: "This day I am sure to die, but if possible not without revenge." So I turned my mule's head round towards the horsemen then coming up, cocked my pistol, and pointed it towards him who, I thought, would first approach me, and determined not to fire before I was sure of doing execution. Shum Temben Keros, son of the Gas Guebra Michael, seeing me ready to fire, cried out, "Pearce, don't fire, no one shall hurt you." I immediately put my pistol to a half-cock, and glad enough I was at my escape. He left a gunner in charge of me, that no one might mistake and hurt me. Shortly after the Gas Guebra Michael came up; he, being my oldest friend in Abyssinia, could not help stopping to have a laugh at me; and after saying, "It is well God has brought you out safe," he ordered me to mount my mule

and follow him ; but the gunner said he would take my mule, as a recompense for having taken care of me, otherwise he could have come up and killed some of the Gas Ischias's soldiers. This aggravated the Gas so much, that he ordered him to be well beaten and his matchlock taken from him.

The Tembens chased and cut up the Gas Ischias's army as far as Segamé, about ten miles from Damot. The Gas Guebra Michael encamped at Moi Agenzean, and he sent some soldiers to see me safe into Axum. The king's messengers, who had been sent to the Gas Ischias's camp, were killed, but my servants had made their escape into Axum. On the following morning the king called me, and I found him seated upon the church terrace, surrounded by a great number of monks and priests of high rank, from Wal-dubba, Gondar, &c. He said, "I sent for you to inquire for what purpose the books you have distributed in the country were sent hither." After I had given him appropriate answers, he asked me if Mr. Salt had made known to the king of my country how scarce books were in Abyssinia. An order was then given to Dofter Esther to write a letter to England, and to state the faults they found in those books, but at the same time to give their thanks. This inquiry had been occasioned

by a Greek, who had told the Echigge in Gondar that the English began in this manner to get possession of India and the other colonies, first by sending presents and coaxing by degrees, till, getting a firm footing in the country, they took it altogether.

Before I left Axum for Adowa, the Gas Guebra Michael had burned the towns of Houstá, Segamé, and all the villages about that part of the country. Subegadis had, at the same time, burnt Arsi, Gundufta, and all the territories of Fitaurari Guebra Amlac.

Ozoro Wolleta Raphael had escaped from Arsi, and had placed herself under the Abuna's protection, while the Gas Guebra Michael was plundering and burning the country of Agut Adite. The Gas Ischias and the sons of Nebrid Aram made a turn round by the river Warie, and joined Subegadis, upon which Guebra Michael set fire to all the corn-stacks and marched back towards Adowa. Subegadis and the Gas Ischias took a strong position and encamped at Treet near Honhili.

December 8th. A large *cofla* arrived from Walkayt, the road being safe since the death of Dimsu. The Gas Ackly Marro's servants arrived, with the *messerach* (tidings) to the king, of the Gas their master's having defeated the

rebel army and taken prisoner Ito Woldi Raphael, son-in-law to the Ras Guxo.

As the Temben army advanced to give battle to the combined armies of Subegadis and the Gas Ischias, the Abuna sent all the priests of the country, with a great number of monks, to prevent a battle taking place, by *guzzart*. The Abuna first sent them to Gas Guebra Michael, telling him, that it was his desire that every chief should return to his own country, till it should please God to appoint a ruler over them. "You are," said he, "butchering my poor children, and those who escape the spear are left with their young ones to starve with hunger. I now tell you," continued he, "that I *guzzart* all from the Christian religion, if my orders be not obeyed." The Gas Guebra Michael replied that he was willing to come to terms with Subegadis, and would, if the Abuna pleased, wait till he had sent to Subegadis on the subject. Accordingly, it was agreed by the Abuna to send a party of priests to Subegadis, and me with them, as messengers on the part of Guebra Michael. The cross, which the Abuna generally held in his hand, was to be carried by a priest of the company of monks from Waldubba. We started in the evening, by moonlight, and about midnight we came to the camp of Subegadis at Treet, and it happened that he

was not asleep. As soon as his guards told him of our arrival, he ordered me into the tent alone, and kept the priests waiting without, till I had not only delivered my message, but eaten and drunk ; after which the priests were ordered in. He rose from his couch, through respect for the Abuna's cross, and, after the priests had said every thing they had to say, which lasted till daylight, Subegadis broke silence and said, " Tell the Abuna I will not consent to be under Guebra Michael ; but if he will consent to be under me, I will give him what I like of the country ; and I have no more to say, though Guebra Michael may have ten to one against me." At this very moment the Temben army had more than one thousand five hundred muskets, twenty thousand horse and foot spear-men, and thirty-two chiefs with tents* ; while Subegadis had not more than one hundred muskets and eight thousand spear-men, and no horse whatever, except thirty or forty belonging to the sons of Nebrid Aram.

When it was well daylight we left the camp, and about twelve o'clock we returned to the camp of Gas Guebra Michael, and were greatly alarmed to find the whole camp, or army, seated in front of the Gas's tent, crying. On inquiry

* None of the Abyssinians have tents, but chiefs of great power.

we learned that the king, Itsa Tecla Gorgis, had died suddenly. After the cry, the concourse of people dispersed, and the priests had a private audience of the Gas, after which I had the same and delivered my message.

The soldiers were continually teasing my servants to give them an account of Subegadis and his army, as if in great dread of him. The king, Itsa Tecla Gorgis, had died suddenly after returning from church. The report among his servants was, that he complained of a swelling in his thigh, which pained him, and he sent for some butter, to one of his wives, who immediately sent it, and it was rubbed into his thigh; after which he complained of the head-ache and soon expired. His age was sixty-six; he was buried in the church-yard of Mariam Sean, at Axum, on the 12th of December, 1817, being a great holy-day for Kudus Michael, Kudus Fasilidus-oun-er-Samuel, and Kudus Sallabella, on which account great ceremony was used over his grave. He was buried without a coffin, the times being so disturbed, that people could not be procured to cut down a tree to make him one, nor had the house he lived in any better than cane doors; so that a coffin could not be procured. The priests would not allow his body to be buried in the place in which the ancient kings were interred,

on account of his having, since his oath to the Abuna, on the 21st of the last month, denied the Coptic religion, and died in the Greek faith.

For several days the Abuna kept the priests and monks going backward and forward between the two armies. After some persuasion, the chiefs, who were afraid of the Abuna's *guzzart*, agreed that Temben should return to Adowa from Mariam Shourrite; that Subegadis should leave Treet, and return to his country, Agamé; and that the Gas Ischias should retire to Nardic, or Arderserat. Still, the petty chiefs, in the country, were continually making depredations on their neighbours; so that nobody could travel with safety. At times we had no market at all, and at others every thing was to be had very cheap from the plunderers.

January 11th, 1818. The Gas Guebra Michael having left these parts, and marched to Temben, there were scarcely any men to be seen among the multitude of women and children who went to accompany the different altars of the churches to the market-place, on the side of the river Assem. Formerly, on this great day, called Tumkut, or baptism-day, every chief, with all his forces, attended the ceremony; but at this time numbers of the females of high rank,

who used to have the sacred water taken to their houses, to bathe themselves in private, were seen bathing among the lower class, in the river.

About this period Shum Temben Sarlie and Shum Temben Bimut, both very great men, deserted, with their troops, from the Gas Guebra Michael; and, raising a strong army, took possession of the Kolla district of Temben. Guebra Michael could not march against them, having found out that they had private communication with Subegadis; and the scheme was, that they should draw Guebra into the Kolla country, while Subegadis invaded the higher country. This for some time put Guebra Michael in perplexity, till his brother Safu, with half the army, marched against Sarlie and Bimut. In the first battle Safu rather lost ground, but, taking a good position on a mountain, he remained safe till night; when he divided his troops into three divisions, and, in three different directions fell upon the enemy's camp unawares, and threw them into such confusion that they were easily put to the rout, leaving their horses, provisions, &c.; Bimut being taken prisoner. This action pleased Guebra Michael so much, that he gave his brother, Safu, the whole of the Temben Kolla.

January 14th. A young boy, who had been

dropped at my door in June last, in a dark and rainy night, was owned by his mother; but I would not deliver him up, till I had taken her before the *shummergeildas* of the town. The woman said, her husband, the boy's father, was killed in the battle between Subegadis and Ischias. She lived at Mumsa, and, through distress, had put the boy down at my door, and watched at a distance till he was taken into the house. She then went to another woman, and told her of her success, which woman she had now brought as a witness that the child was her's. She then went home to Mumsa, which is not more than five miles from Adowa, and there remained till the present time, when, having married another man and put her habitation to rights, and prospered a little this last harvest, she found herself able to provide for her child. She had three more children, but older than the one in question. The *shummergeildas* said, that it depended upon my feelings, for, if I chose to keep the child, no one could hinder me, till I had been paid what I thought proper to charge for its maintenance from the time I had taken it into my habitation. She had adandoned it, they said, to the mercy of the hyænas, from whose jaws I had delivered it. She however fell at my feet and begged me to return it, declaring that she would ever pray for me; so

I gave up the boy, who had been so fond of me, that he cried more at parting from me than he did for the first few days after he had been abandoned by his mother. He was between four and five years of age. During the last rains, several children were dropped at the doors of respectable people in this town, in the same manner; some have not as yet been owned, and some have been stolen away from the doors, as it is supposed by the parents.

The Gas Guebra Michael again came to Axum, with intent to give battle to the Gas Ischias, who had become very powerful, and plundered and burnt several villages of his allies; but, upon Guebra Michael's approach, Ischias marched to Amba Darro, a famous strong mountain, where the Gas Woldi Raphael, son of Ras Michael, defeated the rebels under the command of Blitigatore Takly, who had surrounded him while encamped on this mountain. Here the Gas Michael did not think it prudent to follow Ischias, but began to burn the towns and villages of those who had joined him. He first set fire to the town of Grizla, not many miles from Axum, and then marched to Barrerquor and Madroy, destroying all before him.

Subegadis was obliged to return to Mockkiddo, the capital of Agamé, on account of his brother

Sardie having been released from chains by Ito Barrier, and having raised a strong army of Agamé people to rebel against Subegadis, who soon took him prisoner, and sent him to a mountain in the Taltal country. During this month, the Gas Ackly Marro, who still remained in Agow Mudda, sent Ito Woldi Raphael in chains to the Island Carretta Wolletta in the Lake Tzana. Guxo also, having again quarrelled with Ras Ilo, had marched into his country, and besieged the mountain Teblas Terre, or Ras Terre, whither Ras Ilo had fled to defend himself. The Gas Woldi Raphael went down to Arro and brought up a caravan of salt, which greatly helped to recruit and strengthen his army.

January 23rd. The Gas Guebra Michael came to Moi Arrasart, about ten miles from Adowa, and next day I went to the camp, and he behaved very kindly to me, and made me take up my abode in a small tent which joined his own, and was designed chiefly for his lady, though no one was with him at that time. I went to him, very early in the morning, and told him that, as the Shiré districts were on good terms with him, I wished to go to Deverer Abba, to give some books to the monastery of Oun er Samuel. He told me to stop till I had eaten, and then I might start, and as Axum was near I could lodge there for the

night. A little past twelve I set out from the camp, and, about four o'clock in the afternoon, I arrived at Axum. There I lodged with an old friend, and remained the whole night and the next day.

January 27th. I left Axum about seven o'clock in the morning, and at midday arrived at Belles, a small village, where the *coflas* in general stop on their way to and from Walkayt or Gondar. Here we remained, with some cotton merchants, till the next day, when I set off before the merchants, and, though the road was very bad the whole way, I reached Dembargunna long before sunset. Here I found an old acquaintance, who killed a goat and gave plenty of maize, so that we did not go to sleep till very late.

Next day my friend would not let me depart till I had taken my breakfast. I left Dembargunna at ten o'clock, and about two in the afternoon arrived at the premises of Ito Hannes Timbilla; who, though he had been beaten by Ito Gabri Selassé, a neighbour, some time back, still kept a good table, and gave me a hearty welcome.

Next day I left Timbilla at eight o'clock in the morning, and at eleven reached Deverer Abba. I went to the house of the high-priest, an old man, who had succeeded Allica Wollicus, the late

high-priest of this *giddam*, both of whom had been my acquaintances in Enderta : he received me very kindly, thinking I had only come on a visit, I having, in the time of the late Ras, often given him a lodging in my house at Chelicut, when he had come upon business to the Ras's court. He ordered an old priest to bring water to wash my feet, no female whatever being allowed within the walls of this sacred place ; though a small town close by is well peopled with both sexes. He ordered my mule to be unsaddled and tied in his own house, with his mules ; and soon after I shewed him the books, and told him I had distributed some to the different churches about Adowa, and sent some to Gondar. He immediately called some of the elders of the *giddam*, and, after they had looked over the books, they gave thanks to the king of my country, in whose name I had given them, though they found the same faults as had been mentioned by others. The priests afterwards gave me a goat, and a great number of them sent me some maize.

The priests in all parts of Abyssinia are great drinkers, but here I witnessed more than I had before seen ; the whole time, while sitting at table, one or the other kept repeating, according to the usual custom in all parts of Abyssinia, "Eat and drink, by my death," while they keep

cramming you with what they call *fidfids*, large lumps of different kinds of victuals, mixed up with the hand into a mash. The priests of this *giddam* keep a great many gunners, with matchlocks of a very large size, not only on account of the Shangalla, who are apt to commit depredations on their flocks, but also to kill the elephants, which are numerous about the neighbouring wilds to the north of them.

I went with one of the Allica's gunners, the next day, February 1st., to the Tacazzé, which we crossed to the Waldubba side; but, although the *giddam* of Deverer Abba is near that river, the bad winding roads, or paths, down the mountain, make it full three hours' journey. After looking for a hippopotamus out of the water, we began to return unsuccessful; but, as we approached home, near sun-set, the gunner shot a large deer. Before our boys had skinned it, it was quite dark, and the Allica had sent people in search of us. We carried the hind-quarters and shoulders home, and I took the horns also, as they are not only curiously notched, but make good powder and salt horns.

Next day the Chellica took me to the *karbet*, or treasury of the *giddam*, and shewed me all its riches, such as crowns of silver and gold, &c., &c. We shortly after returned to a feast given

by one of the elders of the church ; but, before I went into the *dass*, where the feast was prepared, I was curious enough to stand looking at a wooden bell, at the church gateway, the first I had seen of the kind in Abyssinia. Three large pieces of wood are slung at a little distance from each other, so that, when shaken with a rope, they strike against each other and make a very peculiar sound, but nothing like a bell : what kind of wood it is, or whether hollow or not, I had not time to learn, being hurried to the feast. Though I have described the common church bell, in all parts of Abyssinia, as a long narrow stone, slung either between two trees or poles, and struck with another stone, yet they have numerous small hand-bells, which they make in the country.

February 3rd. Adelcardu, a Mahomedan, who had been bartering with the priests, and was going direct to Massowa, gave me an opportunity of sending a letter by him, to be forwarded to Mr. Salt, by way of Jidda, giving him an account of the Bible Society books. This *negade* took from the priests, in exchange for four pieces of coloured silk and a small Persian carpet, twenty two elephants' teeth. Eight of these were of the largest size and fourteen of the middle and smaller size. The *negade* also made a present to the *giddam* of some frankincense, and a little black pepper to each of the great priests.

Next day I wished to depart, but the Allica insisted upon my waiting till the morrow. To pass away the time, I rode on my mule, with the gunner I had before been with, into the heart of the *barakei* [wilderness] lying between the *giddam* and the Tacazzé. We found the remains of an *aggerzeen*, which apparently had been devoured by a lion in the night, or not long before, as we saw the tracks in the sand. Lions are very numerous in this part; we nevertheless saw many kinds of deer and hogs; the gunner fired twice at them and missed: I also fired a number of times and always missed; indeed my powder was so bad that I was obliged to fire with a match. The gunner at last killed a hog, which was fatter than they in general are; this made me turn to and work to help the boy to skin some of the hind parts, to cut up into steaks. We made a large fire and broiled them, and ate our fill, except the gunner, who would not eat with us. But, while we were busy, he killed a deer, called *tailhe-buddu*, and came with some of its flesh to broil also; but superstition caused him to make another fire. As I had a horn of maize with me, we sat very comfortably till nearly sunset, when we returned home, leaving our hog's flesh for the wild beasts, not daring to take any into the *giddam*; but the gunner

gave me the hind-quarters of his deer to carry home.

Next day I told the Allica I wanted to go by the way of Jedaro, to see my friend Ito Levassey, whose leg Mr. Smith had cured, at the request of Mr. Salt, at my house at Chelicut, in 1810. He had been shot in the leg, in the service of the Ras, who was remarkably fond of him, and begged Mr. Salt to let the *hakim* look at his leg. Mr. Smith extracted some bone from it and cured him, and ever since he has had great respect for me. The Allica gave me a bushel and a half of honey, and an ass to carry it, a sheep to kill on the road, and a man to return with the ass.

I set out with intent to reach Jedaro before dark, as it was at a great distance, and no place to stop at, the whole way being nothing but a wilderness, the resort of elephants and other wild beasts; however, the ass and sheep becoming tired, we were obliged to halt, not much more than half-way, when it was nearly evening: it was therefore agreed that we should pick out the best place and wait till next day. Before dark we had cut some boughs and bushes and made a kind of fence; we drove a stake into the ground and tied the ass, the mule, and the sheep, close to our feet; after which we made a good fire and

broiled some *quanter* which we had, and after eating lay down to sleep, but were prevented by a number of hyænas prowling about us in all directions. They leaped over our small fence, and seized the ass by the hind parts, as they generally do. I fired and hit one, which strove to get off, but dropped close by. Before I could load and fire again, with my bad powder, they dragged the poor ass away, and, although my servants speared several, they still came on thicker and thicker. While we were following them up, endeavouring to rescue the poor ass from them, a leopard carried off the sheep; this animal so frightened my mule, that it broke the *luko* [straps] which tied it, but very luckily ran towards us and was soon caught. The hyænas at last became so numerous in all quarters, that we were obliged to get on the side of an old darro tree that had fallen down some years before; I kept firing, but my powder was so bad that it was impossible to do any execution, unless the enemy were within two or three yards of me, for I was obliged to fire with a match. The honey remained where we first intended to lodge, with my bag and our skins, or beds. I got a little sleep on the side of the tree, but the heavy dew wetted us as much as if we had been drenched with rain.

Very early in the morning we descended from

our roost, saddled my mule, and the honey, being in two different skins, it was easily carried by the Allica's man and one of mine. A little after midday we reached Jedaro, and learned that my friend was at home. I immediately went to his house, and the moment he heard of my arrival he ordered me in. This was a great sign of his regard, for the Abyssinians, let them be on ever so intimate terms of friendship, always keep a visiter waiting at the door, often for hours together. This is not only to show their dignity in their own premises, but also to give the wife, or cook, time to have things prepared for the visiter; when the master always makes an excuse for having kept them waiting so long, by saying he had been asleep, or had taken physic, &c. When an Abyssinian goes to sleep, and previously gives orders to his servant to awake him, in case any thing should happen, the servant, in order to arouse him, puts his hand under the cloth that covers his master or mistress, and begins rubbing the feet and pulling the toes; this is the common custom. To call them by name, or shake the body, would be a misdemeanour that would bring punishment upon them.

Ito Levassey received me with all the obliging words he could express, mixed with a little flattery, for which every Abyssinian is remarkable.

He gave me every thing I could wish for in this country to eat and drink, and, though apparently much concerned at the loss of the Allica's ass, and my night's fight with the *gibs*, [hyænas] he could not help laughing very heartily at times. Next morning, on my taking leave, he begged I would stay some days with him, but I told him I had promised my wife and neighbours to be back by market-day, and the times being so bad they might doubt my safety in case I remained longer. However he prevailed on me to stop that day. He gave me a large gelded goat, which they call *mugcout* in Amhara, and *tor* in Tigré, and lent me an ass to carry my honey to Adowa.

February the 8th. I set out from Jedaro, and never stopped but to give my mule water, till sunset, although the roads over the mountain were very bad. I reached Timbilla, which is a large town, but not so large as Jedaro. Here I found no acquaintance, though lodging and victuals were given, as is customary to all travellers, in time of peace, in the country.

Next morning I set out before daylight, and about mid-day came to Arkar, in Shiré; this being a noted place for robbers, we did not think fit to stop for the night, though the ass and goat were nearly knocked up. After they had taken a little rest, among some fine grass, I again set

out, and arrived at sunset at Grizla, the town near Axum burned by the Gas Guebra Michael. Here I found an old servant of mine, who, though his house had been burned and all he had plundered and taken away, did all he could to make me comfortable. In the morning I set out very early, and my old servant, Tusfu, followed me as far as Axum, after which he returned. I did not stop at Axum, but kept on for Adowa, where I arrived about four in the afternoon, having travelled very slowly on account of the ass and goat. Next day I dismissed the Allica's man, begging he would satisfy his master as to the manner in which the ass had been devoured, in spite of all our efforts.

February 13th. I left Adowa, to go to the Gas Guebra Michael, who had promised me some provisions on my return from Deverer Abba. He was then encamped in Subegadis's old situation, at Treet. Next day I marched with the camp to Ongar, where the Gas encamped on the mountain Damba. Here I took leave of the Gas, who had given me an order for ten *interlams* of corn, equal to eighty bushels, and a boy was sent to me, to carry the order to the *aristie*. In the evening we arrived at a village called Adequorro, where I went to see an old acquaintance, of the name of Buckkerha, whom I found lying in a miserable state: in the last battle with Subegadis

he had received two very severe wounds, and indeed they were in such a state of putrefaction that I could not bear to sit near him, though in the time of the Ras we were on terms of the closest friendship. He ordered his wife to give me whatever his house could afford, and I was well lodged in a small hut.

Next day I blessed my poor old companion, and, according to the custom of the country, exclaimed "God send down pardon to him!" I left Aderquorro, and in about an hour and a half arrived at Abba Garimur, where I went to pay my devotions at the church: on so doing I was invited by a priest, an old acquaintance, named Abba Woldi, to take some victuals and maize, and he was not willing to let me quit him till both of us were well filled; however, I at last got away, leaving the poor old man dead drunk on his couch, his son being present to take care of him. After I left Abba Garimur I arrived at my house in Adowa in about three quarters of an hour.

CHAPTER XVII.

Proceedings of the Gas Ischias—Rescue of Pearce by the Gas at Moi Delarta—He joins the army of the Gas—Is obliged by fever to return home—Entry of Guebra Michael into Adowa—Chiefs named after Horses—Attendants—Attentions paid to the Sick—Contagious Disease attributed to Snakes—Revenue of the Abuna—Movements of Guebra Michael—Mode of manufacturing Iron.

THE Gas Ischias had again begun his old tricks, and had burned a village belonging to the Gas Ischias, father of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, and was encamped at Moi Delarta. Thence, according to his old custom, he sent to call the sons of Bashaw Abdalla, ordering them to bring the duties of the custom-house, which had not long before been paid to Gas Guebra Michael; however, threats caused them to take him cloths, &c. to the amount that he demanded of them. The younger brother, Mahomed, being on slight terms of friendship with me, begged I would go with him, and endeavour to persuade the Gas to reasonable demands; I consented, and, it being but a little distance, we went at midnight, the best and most common hour for a private audience with the chiefs of Abyssinia. However, on going

to his tent, we were informed that he was asleep. We went to the tent of Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis, whom we found asleep also; none in the camp were stirring, but the guards sitting over the fires.

I was determined to return, to avoid being seen by the people of Moi Delarta, on account of one Woldi Gorgis, the son of a Greek called Apostella, who had killed a man belonging to this place, after getting intoxicated together, and they had sworn to have the blood of some white man in revenge, imagining all white people to be relations. Accordingly, I left the camp when it was quite dark, but the people of the village just by had been informed of my being in the camp, where numbers of the relatives of the deceased were. I had four shieldsmen and one gun, and a pistol in my hand, with some good cartridges that I had made the preceding morning. We had not got two hundred yards from the camp when about fifty came running after us. I got off my mule as quickly as possible, and began to fire about their heads, and, having crossed a small rivulet with a steep bank, I had time to load and fire five times before they attempted to descend the bank, by which time the report of the gun had brought the whole camp in great confusion to the spot, supposing it to be the Temben army

coming upon them in the night, as formerly. Even the Gas himself had mounted his horse at the alarm. Fortunately the people who came up first were many of them my old acquaintances, and they asked me the reason of my firing. I told them, and pointed out the gang who had come after me without provocation. They were immediately seized by Ito Sunno and his soldiers, who took both them and me to the Gas, and he made them leave a bondsman in the camp to answer for their presence at day-light; and sent Ito Sunno to see me safe over the river Assem.

At sunrise I returned to the camp; the Gas was just going to eat, and he ordered me to sit close by him; during meal time he crammed my mouth frequently with *fidfids*, large lumps of victuals before mentioned; and, after the table was removed, he called the people of Almader and Moi Delarta, and said, "This man is no more related to Apostella than I am. Because he is a white man do you imagine him to be related? I know," continued he, "for certain, that he does not even understand Apostella's language, nor Apostella his; and, in case any thing happens to him while I have power, I shall consider him murdered, and will seek revenge for his sake." The people of Almader, which is the name of the district, said, since they knew the

truth they would not offer to molest me, and would tell the same to the whole of the district whom it concerned, after which they were dismissed.

The Gas Ischias began to order the maize to be handed to me very briskly, often forcing the *bruly* to my mouth with his hand, and at last he began to question me about my remaining always in town, and why I did not go to war like a man, as I did in the time of the Ras. I told him that my disease had reduced my constitution to such a degree that I could not only not go on foot, but was unable to bear any fatigue whatever either in heat or cold, I having become too weak to encounter either. However, he kept me drinking, and very frequently pronounced tempting words, and at last said, he thought I was afraid. In this manner, he induced me at length to say, "I go, by the death of Ischias!" a very binding oath in their estimation. After the tent was cleared, and the Gas gone to sleep, I went home, reflecting on the oath I had been tempted to take, and, knowing the weakness of my constitution, I began to be a little uneasy in my mind; however, I said to myself, "The thing is done, and it is better to try my fortune than lose my good name. Who knows but Providence may strengthen me!" Accordingly, I told my wife, on my arrival, to get

every thing ready for my provisions, and that I had sworn to go with the Gas Ischias to the wars. With this she, instead of ordering the girls to grind corn, &c. began to cry, and call in a number of women, our neighbours, who kept such a bellowing, that I was forced to be rough and make the girls turn-to, and also grind myself. During the night, my flour and other provisions were got ready, nor were my servants in the least unwilling to follow me; only they said, they thought I could not endure the fatigue of a camp.

February 21st. I joined in the march with the Gas Ischias's army, which did not consist of more than five thousand men, and they in general could not be depended upon to march in the rear of an army of more than twenty thousand. The Gas Guebra Michael had entered the country of Subegadis; the plan was that Subegadis should draw the Temben army as far as he could into his territories, while the Gas Ischias came in his rear. The first night we encamped at a village called Arder Darro; next day we marched to a district called Darrerker, where we were joined by the sons of the late Fit-aurari Zogo, a brave chief, in the time of the Ras, spoken of in Mr. Salt's Travels. He left behind him the two brave sons just mentioned, but they were of a wavering disposition, and indeed false.

After burning some districts belonging to the allies of Temben, we marched to Dambarra, where we encamped among the burned tents of the Temben army. I have before observed, that it is customary, in all parts of Abyssinia, to set fire to the camp after quitting it, if in an enemy's district, but not in a friendly one. In the night there came on a very heavy shower of rain and hail, which is not common in this month, and which did much hurt, not only to ourselves, but to the cattle. Not a dry rag was to be found, nor could we kindle a fire as the hail lay thick on the ground.

A little after sunrise I was taken very ill with a fever, which I thought would have killed me. The Gas Ischias, seeing me in this state, was sorry he had prevailed upon me to come, and ordered some grass and wood cutters to carry me to Adowa; but I, with the assistance of two men, one on each side, made shift to ride my mule, and I reached Adequorro, where I was put into a snug hut. In the morning my fever came on very violently, so that I could not start early; but after my own cloth and skin, and those of my servants, had been thrown over me, and I had drunk a deal of cold water, I began to sweat till the skin I lay on was like a puddle of water. Finding myself uncomfortable with the water on

the skin, I had it taken from under me and another put in its place, when, in about half an hour, I found myself much better, and was anxious to be on my road.

About ten o'clock I set out, riding as yesterday, but did not reach home till near dark: both my wife and neighbours were delighted to see me return, though much concerned for my illness; however I found myself much better, and had a little appetite. Tringo, my wife, got some victuals ready for the Gas's people, and they returned to the camp.

The townspeople, numbers of whom had never known of my going, hearing of my return, came to see me; some rebuked me for my error, and some cursed the Gas for his artfulness. This, however, proved to be a lucky malady, for the Gas Guebra Michael, hearing that the Gas Ischias was approaching behind him, immediately hurried back from following Subegadis, and by forced marches came up with the Gas Ischias, before he could be near enough to have any assistance from Subegadis, though by this the Gas Guebra lost a number of brave men. Subegadis, who had retreated not very far back into his province, hearing of Guebra Michael's having turned back, marched after him with all speed, and came up with him in a narrow valley, on each side of

which were steep precipices, through which a torrent had forced its way in the rains. There, though Subegadis had but few men, he began to fire down upon this narrow pass, exactly where the Gas Guebra was passing the greater part of his army, in hopes of reaching the Gas Ischias. On hearing the firing, those in the front turned round on the height which Subegadis held, and he was obliged to fly, though not before he had done great mischief. Guebra Michael's mule was shot under him, and a great number of his followers killed. This was the second animal Subegadis had shot under Gas Guebra. Next day, Guebra fell in with Ischias, who fought a sharp battle, but was at last defeated; he himself escaped on horseback to the country of Subegadis, but few of his men fled with him.

March 1st. The Gas Guebra Michael entered Adowa; priests from all the churches were stationed in different groupes, dressed in their sacred habiliments, with crowns on their heads, and bearing large crosses. The Gas alighted from his mule before each groupe, to kiss the cross and receive a blessing with the Lord's prayer as usual, the horsemen riding like madmen in different directions, and the girls and young women of the town dancing, and singing the praise of Abba Gurga, such being the war-

name of the Gas Guebra Michael, as Badinsah was that of the late Ras Welled Selassé. These names form the common watchword of battle, otherwise, in the confused and disorderly manner in which the Abyssinians fight, they would often mistake their own party for that of the enemy. I shall here give the warlike names of the different chieftains now in great power, having before mentioned that those names are taken from the first horse they ride on to war in their youth : Ras Guxo, Deigeo ; Ras Ilo, Lincher, in Galla Leon ; Ackly Marro, Lamo ; Hilier Mariam, Demanner ; Gas Ischias, Abba Culoc ; Subegadis, Abba Garre Bar ; and the Gas Woldi Raphael, Abba Fetton.

All the petty chiefs, in like manner, have names to distinguish them from the private soldiers. There is no country that I have seen, where people are so fond of displaying their dignity, as in Abyssinia. When a chief of any power goes either to court or to church, he has a whole body of armed men to attend him ; on a visit he has the same, and indeed, men of the lower class, who have only one servant or soldier, are followed by him with his spear and shield wherever they go, should it be only on necessary business within their own premises. Every person who owns a little landed property, that may bring

him in at the most to the amount in cloth, or salt, of one hundred dollars per year, is always seen with five or six shieldsmen close behind him, and perhaps a matchlock or two in front of him.

Even the women of superior rank are fond of shewing themselves off, either in attending church, or in paying or returning visits, on which occasions they are mounted on a mule, with a soldier on each side to steady them, a whole train of spearmen following behind, and a great number of their female attendants running in front. Whether the lady can read or not, she has two or three books carried before her, which are generally tied round the necks of young boys or girls smartly dressed; these books being commonly covered with a piece of red cloth. The ladies, when on their excursions, always keep the head and part of the face covered with the cloth they wear; when in church, their book is opened before them, and some one in favour turns over the leaves, as they pretend to read. Their eyes roll about on all sides, viewing those about them, though they never stare any one in the face who looks at them. Whether going or coming, they take as roundabout and as public a way as possible, that every body may see their grandeur. If on foot, their pace is very slow;

indeed, it would be scandalous to see a lady walk quick.

In the evening, I was sent for by the Gas Guebra Michael to dinner; he behaved to me with the same civility that he had always done, but laughed much at my having taken service with the Gas Ischias, who, as he said, was nothing but an old drunken fool, who could not content himself in his old age with what he had without molestation from any one. "I have," said he, "frequently promised never to interfere with him in his own district. Woldi Raphael has done the same, as well as Subegadis; but while he can get maize he can never be quiet."

After dark, I went with the Gas to see one of his household soldiers, who had been wounded in the attack made by Subegadis, and who was likely to die: it being a long way to the house where the patient was lying, the Gas ordered his mule to be saddled, and one for me, otherwise I could not have gone, my mule not having been sent to fetch me, and I being still very weak. When we arrived at the hut of the patient, the Gas alighted from his mule, and, on entering, threw his cloth from his shoulders, and wrapped the corners round his loins; such is the respect paid to the sick in Abyssinia. I have observed, during my long residence among these people, that this is

the general custom, and that a man of high rank, even the king, though ever so proud and tyrannical, shews this mark of attention to any subject, if from regard he pays him a visit. The different times Ras Welled Selassé visited me, during my illness, I always remarked that he did the same thing on entering the door. When seated, they raise their cloth, commonly above the chin, but, on quitting, they pay the same compliment as before, and repeat the words, "God send down pardon!"

I have before mentioned, that every neighbour is very strict in visiting the sick once or twice a day; even the great people are sure to send a servant to ask after a sick person morning and evening, at the same time enquiring if they want any thing; so the patient is never without company. Such is the attention towards the sick, which, as I imagine, has more good effect upon the body and minds of patients than could be produced by shutting them up in a room or hospital, and employing a dozen physicians to attend them.

Nature sometimes cures wounds almost miraculously; and I know a man, now living, who was, in the presence of thousands, as well as myself, taken up by an elephant, with a tooth having a sharp point of the smaller size, and turned about like a fly, with the tooth through the left ribs,

and thrown into a pit of water, whence he was immediately taken and carried three days' journey to his home. This happened in the year 1807, when on a march through a multitude of those animals, which we fell in with among the wilds between Hamazen and Murrav; forty men were killed at the time by them, as well as some asses, and a still greater loss was sustained in wounded. I knew another man, who was speared in the left ribs, from which wound issued part of the lungs, which was cut off, and the wound sewed up; besides which, at the same moment, he was mutilated in the usual barbarous manner; yet he fought during the remainder of the day, though he expired on the following*. Several other extraordinary natural cures I have witnessed. The only thing esteemed in the country as certain death is hamstringing; they have no notion of stopping the blood.

* Neither of these cases appears to be very fortunately selected as a specimen of natural cures. With respect to the first, it does not appear that Pearce either did, or could, ascertain whether any assistance from art was afforded to the man at his journey's end. And as to the latter case, it is stated that the part of the lungs protruding was cut off and the wound sewed up. Both cases seem to partake, in no small degree, of the marvellous, and perhaps, in the last instance, it may be more charitable to doubt the anatomical knowledge of Pearce than his veracity. There can, however, be *now* no doubt that many do survive the revolting operation alluded to, which followed the first wound given to the second sufferer.—*Editor.*

March 2nd. Some people arrived on business to the Gas from Deverer Abba, among whom was an acquaintance of mine. They brought the sad news of a sickness raging in that part, and that a number of the monks of Waldubba and Deverer Abba had fallen sacrifices to it, as well as the inhabitants of the Kolla parts of Shiré. This is a common plague in that part of Abyssinia, at different seasons, but it is more general at the commencement and conclusion of the rains. The people of Waldubba, religionists of both sexes, as well as the inhabitants, attribute this malady to a green and very poisonous snake, which is very common in that part, and is of a small size. They say that when these snakes die, or are killed, flies are bred from them that carry the poison from one person to another, throughout the country. However, I cannot give any credit to such an opinion, as the cattle are not affected, and as some of the Kolla parts of the country are in general very unhealthy at different seasons. I was informed by the people from Deverer Abba, that my old friend, the priest there, had given up his office of high-priest, and that Memer Gudlu had succeeded him.

The Gas Guebra Michael remained at Adowa some time, continually plagued by the Abuna; multitudes of poor souls were perpetually arriving

at the town, who had travelled from Shoa and Coffa, as well as from the utmost skirts of the country, merely for the Abuna's blessing and confirmation in the Christian faith, which he would not agree to bestow without the regular payment, which scarcely one out of a hundred could afford.

March 6th. A Mahomedan Negade, from Massowa, brought me a letter, which came from Mr. Salt; it contained a letter to the Abuna, which I had previously heard of, and, being overjoyed at its receipt, I saddled a neighbour's horse and rode full speed to the Abuna. On delivering the letter to him, he smiled and looked a little pleasant, but on reading the contents he eyed me very crossly, and ordered me away without any question or answer. When I retired to the gateway I got into conversation with Washer Gumhe Woldi Mariam, who is the head interpreter, and who, though a great bigot to the Copti religion, was getting tired of the Abuna's behaviour. He told me he sincerely thought that such a sudden change, from poverty to wealth, had driven him mad; and began, as we sat together, to calculate the salt that he imagined the Abuna had received daily, from the time he came into the country till the end of last year, since which the number of visitors had been diminished to one tenth. He said that every day, upon an average, he had

received one thousand pieces of salt per day, during two years, which is, in this place, as much as thirty-three dollars and one to the third thousand, allowing thirty pieces of salt to the dollar, which, in the total, amounts to about twenty-four thousand three hundred and thirty-three dollars and one-third, in two years. In Gondar, the salt is more valuable, being sometimes ten pieces only per dollar, and at times as low as six. At present the Abuna does not get a thousand pieces in the course of a month.

The extraordinary profit of the two last years was owing to the absence of an Abuna from the country for the space of fifteen years. The number of males born in the different parts of Abyssinia during that time, as well as those led by superstition to be confirmed by the new Abuna, must have been very great; so that, in the course of time, he will have none but new-born infants to confirm. Baptism is thought but little of, compared with *zockon*, which means confirmation by the Abuna. No female has a right to this formality; and indeed, a female is not allowed by their ancient laws to come into the Abuna's presence; but this present madman will sometimes allow women to appear before him, to make complaints of their husbands, and at times take their part in a wrongful cause.

The above-mentioned salt is due only from those who are confirmed by him, though numbers of priests pay him a considerable quantity of salt for a title, or to be put at the head of a church, which is in his power; besides all this his estates are numerous in different parts of Abyssinia.

March the 7th. The Gas Guebra Michael left Adowa, and marched towards Honge, having heard that Subegadis was upon the move. From Honge, he marched to Edderger Sayer, the position Subegadis held, when first assailed by the Gas Ischias, when the great battle took place, in June, 1816. On this spot he remained for some time, the chiefs of Arva and Digan coming to him, to declare their attachment to him and enmity to Subegadis. Baharnegash Yasous, Kantiva Sasinas, and Amder Mariam, son of the late Baharnegash Subhart, are the only enemies that Subegadis has in this part of the country; and, though they possess but little power, they throw many obstacles in his way, being in his rear, and when assailed by him have a convenient retreat among the Shiho, or Hazorta, towards the coast.

The Gas Woldi Raphael has been a long time quiet in Enderta, and has made several trips to the Arro. Forty pieces of salt are equal, at this time, to a piece of cloth in Enderta; while here in

Adowa, and all parts of Tigré, it has, all at once, become scarce ; and this day, in the market, I could not find ten pieces in exchange for a piece of cloth, or a dollar, and what is to be had in exchange is chiefly from the Abuna's servants, who are taking this advantageous opportunity to convert this cumbersome money into a more convenient sort, such as cloth and dollars; though, as the salt falls and rises in value, so do the articles bought with it.

About a fortnight ago a good *merarsha* [ploughshare] cost from fifteen to twenty pieces of salt, or three-fourths of a piece of cloth ; but at present, a large *merarsha*, weighing from four to eight pounds, fetches no more than from four to six pieces of salt, though the quantity of cloth is the same as when the salt was much cheaper. The ploughshares, knives, or any articles formed of iron, are not sold by weight ; the make, the shape, &c., fixing their chief value. An article weighing a pound will fetch as much as another weighing five, if of superior workmanship.

Iron is cheapest about Salora, Bora, and Wojjerat, where it is found in great quantities ; it is got from the sides of the mountains and in the valleys in large heavy pieces like iron-stone. Those persons called Budas, of whom I have

before given an account, are the only people who manufacture it ; they throw this iron into a large charcoal fire, which they blow with several pair of bellows, very conveniently made of goat's skin bags, the muzzle of which is at the neck part of the skin. Each man blows two pair, one in each hand. When the iron is completely hot, it is taken out of the fire with large awkward pincers, or tongs, and held by one man upon a large flat stone, while two or three others, with large round or rather oval stones, strike in turn, with all their might, with both hands. This operation is repeated, until it is free from all earthy matters, and fit for use. In one part, particularly, near Bate Minga, in Wojjerat, there is found a particularly hard kind of iron, called Damascus, which is good for making files, small hammers, and steels for striking fire, called *bullard*. *Bullard emnu* is a flint stone. In all parts of Abyssinia iron is found, but not so plentiful as in the districts before-mentioned and about the province of Gojam. Though the Budas are awkward workmen, they make good knives and spears.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Pray at a *Marver*—Hyænas—Cofia of Slaves—Violence of Duster, son of Guebra Amlac—Procession of Altars—Fire at the Abuna's—Reconciliation of the Gas Guebra Michael and Ischias—Presents made to Pearce—Guebra Michael sends presents to Guxo—Strong Mountains—Ackly Marro—Guebra Kedan—Ozoro Sean—Ozoro Cottser—Incestuous Connections—Frantic Conduct of the Abuna—Movements of Chiefs—Procession of Priests—Interview between the Gas Guebra Michael and the Abuna—Pearce provokes the anger of the Abuna—Sham-Fight—The Gas thrown from his Horse—The Adventure sung publicly by the Women—Fish and Meat never cured by the Abyssinians—Their mode of cutting up Cattle—Perquisites of Household Servants.

MARCH 8th. In the evening, while the people of a *marver* [club] were making merry and drinking, on their established club-day, some of the *wotada* belonging to the Temben army came in and seated themselves among the members of the club, who seldom admit strangers; but, this being a critical period, they, through fear, allowed them to sit down in the midst of them, and served the drink out to them, as if they had been part of the *marver*. They had not been in long before in came three others of the same profession, but belonging to the Gas Ischias. The Tembens inquired who they were,

to which one of them replied, "*Ascar Abba Euloi*," upon which the others immediately ordered them out of the room, while the Gas Ischias's men insisted that the others should first go out. However, high words soon brought them to handling their spears and shields, and the fray began. Hearing the noise, I ran out of my door, and, being close by, I could see the poor people of the *marver* running out of the house in the greatest confusion, some forcing their way through the roof of the house. Those of the Temben party had gone out at the door, and those belonging to the Gas Ischias had followed them, and two of the former soon fell. I and two more men, formerly soldiers to the Ras, ran, with my servants, to part them, but, before we could come up, one of the Gas Ischias's men fell also.

The Temben had fixed his back against a wall, with a good shield, and, knowing well how to use it, he kept the other two off till we came to them. The two were so exasperated that they would not allow us to part them, till one of them dropped with a blow of a cudgel; the other soon received the same, and we took away their weapons as well as those of the Temben. We put the whole three in confinement, by chaining each to one of our servants. One of the Tembans died

immediately, but the other was carried away by some of his acquaintances; the wounded man belonging to the Gas Ischias also died. Those we had in chains we did not know what to do with, and, for fear of getting into trouble with either of the Gases, we all declined having the charge of them; so it was agreed to give them their arms and have no more to do with them. Next day several of the deceased's friends came to demand the murderers; but they were at liberty and among their companions, and no one dared to interfere with them. But the Gas Guebra, being made acquainted with the affair, had a guard sent from the camp, who took them up and delivered them to the friends of the deceased, who soon dispatched them in the market-place according to custom.

The Gas Guebra Michael left Sayer, and marched to Terevo, a strong mountain in Abase-nate, and burned all the villages and corn, because the people had become allies to Subegadis. He then marched to Houlkee, belonging to Ito Nock-indes, nephew of the late Ras Welled Selassé, who had joined Subegadis.

March 12th. In the evening, when the girls were about to enter the town with their loads of wood, and were forming into parties, to enter singing together after dark, I heard a great

disturbance among them; several were screaming violently, and, on my running with some of my neighbours, to see what was the matter, we found a young girl, who was last in the line, with her nose, eyes, and flesh, torn away by the bite of a *gib*, [hyæna] which had attacked her, she being little better than a child. Those girls who go out to gather wood start at daylight, with a cake of bread for the day, and return at dark, and if the *gibs* had courage in proportion to their strength and number, many would frequently be killed by them.

To-day arrived, about dark, the largest *cofla* of slaves that I ever saw, from Gullybudda. I went next morning to see them in camp; there were one hundred and sixty *twash* [eunuchs] and about seven hundred boys and girls, all in general very young. The brutes who had captured the former, when in a perfect state, were not contented with the booty, but had mangled the bodies of their prisoners for the sake of bravado. The Shangalla are never guilty of this act of barbarity.

During this month Ackly Marro left Gojam and encamped in Maitsha, after destroying every town and village of Damot. Ras Guxo ordered Ito Woldi Raphael to the mountain Emmanuel in Edjow; and the sons of Ito Woldi Raphael, who

were grandchildren to Ras Guxo, fled to Carretta Wolletta, in Tzana, under the protection of the monks, till they learned their grandfather's pleasure respecting them. I, having continued to visit my friend Ozoro Wolleta Raphael, almost every other day, and, when in town, every day, was one evening at supper with her, when her eldest son by Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, whose name is Duster, having disputed with the *selafe*, or person who has the office of serving out the maize, drew his knife, and stabbed him in the side. It was shocking to behold the lamentation of his poor mother on this occasion, but Duster immediately ran off to the Abuna's premises, where murderers cannot be seized. It was supposed that the *selafe* could not recover, the wound being large and deep. I did all I could to soothe the poor afflicted mother, who was like a distracted woman till cock-crow, when she went into a dose; I then left her and went home, but, as soon as it was daylight, I again went and found her in the same distracted state. The *selafe* had not felt much pain, considering the nature of the wound, and it was supposed he would recover. He at the same time desired that Duster might return to his mother, as he had, in case of death, forgiven him. The poor mother begged me to go to the Abuna's premises, and chain her son to one

of the servants, and leave him there, that he might not run away to the Amhara and be lost to her for ever. I accordingly went with some of my own servants, and, after telling him not to be afraid, as the wound was not mortal, I coaxed him to the gate, and then we seized him and chained him to one of his mother's servants, and left him in the Abuna's premises.

A great multitude of priests and monks, belonging to the sacred *giddam* of Deverer Libanus, in Shoa, arrived here, and brought three new altars, consecrated to three different churches, newly built by Sarlu Selassé, the king. These altars bearing so great a name, and such attention being paid them by the people, who bowed to the ground as they passed, I was determined to watch an opportunity to have a look at them when uncovered. I accordingly went to the Abuna's premises, and the monks had immediate admittance, as they bore presents for the Abuna; but when the altars were uncovered I found that they were inferior to some of those in Tigré and Amhara, the commonest tinker's tool-box in England being far superior to them. The wood was awkwardly cut and nailed together, as if it had been done without any implement but a knife and a stone to drive the nails. However, the Abuna had received some presents from the priests, and he

said, after measuring the height and width, that they were of the right size, and he anointed them with *meron* and confirmed them. When they carry these altars through the country to the Abuna's premises, they cover them with the best silks their church will afford ; and a priest marches before, when they pass any village or inhabited place, with a bell in his hand, which he keeps ringing, to warn the people to pay due respect.

The same day, towards evening, the Abuna's premises were observed to be on fire. I went immediately, with the inhabitants of the town, to assist in saving the property lodged there for security by a number of townspeople, who were always in dread of the town being plundered. The small apartment, where the Abuna lived in the midst of his treasures, was not burnt ; but the great hall, which contained the goods belonging to the inhabitants, was entirely consumed. The Copti Gorgis, who had behaved so treacherously towards me, had arrived only a few days before from Massowa, with a very valuable cargo of articles adapted to the commerce of the country ; such as Surat cloth, red and blue beads, and blue silks from Egypt, &c. ; altogether worth nearly two thousand dollars, which made him one of the richest merchants of Abyssinia. All was consumed in the flames ! And to see the old

creature running round the flames, and crying out, "I am ruined ! I am ruined !" gave me much concern ; and, notwithstanding the harm he had always endeavoured to do me, I still pitied him from my heart ; and, shortly after, having disputed with the Abuna, who refused him some small trifle of money to begin again, he came to me, apparently in the greatest distress, when I gave him part of my lodging, and he lived with me, as he formerly had done, free of all cost. However, the wretch was found out, one day when intoxicated with my maize, to have sewed up in a leather bag forty *wakeahs* of gold ; which he had, before going to sleep, given to my wife to take care of, which was ten times more money than all my house and I were possessed of. However, we never appeared to know what he had in his leather bag, which he still kept close by him, though he was seen by one of the children near the house counting the money, after he had received it from my wife.

While I was at the Abuna's he observed me very busy with the people, in striving to extinguish the flames, by throwing on baskets of dirt, the only remedy we could apply, being at a great distance from the water. He said, probably from some observations he had found in his letter, and with a very surly look, "Pearce, does Mohamed

Alli govern Habesh ? ” I, knowing his meaning, returned him as pleasant and as good an answer as I could possibly think of, by saying, “ No, but he governs the Coptis. ”

During this month the Gas Ischias came to terms with the Gas Guebra Michael ; the former agreed to be subject to the latter, who was to give him Barrerquor, Narder, Zonge, Ardetserat, some part of Shiré, and one third of the duties received from the customs of Adowa ; and they went to the Abuna, to take an oath of alliance before him.

Two servants, whom I had sent to the Ras Guxo and Ackly Marro, with a psalter for each, of the finest binding, returned about this time. I had not told them to make known to Ras Guxo and to Ackly Marro my distress. The former gave my servants two dollars each for their own clothing, and told them he would order me a house and provisions either in Gondar or Deverer Tavor, whichever of the two I liked best. Ackly Marro, whom they found in Agow Mudda, gave an order for two large elephants' teeth for me, which will sell here for fifty dollars, and one small one for my servants, which will sell for eight dollars. When my servants arrived at Gondar, they received the teeth from Palambarus Safu, who was governor during Ackly Marro's absence, and who is married to his sister Ozoro Altash. The king, Itsa Guarlu,

to whom I had also sent my servant with a book, gave them provisions and a man to help them to carry the teeth.

The Gas Guebra Michael sent his brother Buggerunde Comfu with presents to Ras Guxo, consisting of Persian carpets, two silver cups to drink out of, made in Adowa by Woldi Gorgis, the Greek's son before mentioned, and two *chiffers* and two *beetors*, ornaments worn upon the arms of the warriors, made by the same person, begging of Ras Guxo to send him his daughter in return. Ras Guxo, having taken the mountain Teras-ferre from Ras Ilo, who had escaped from the mountain Mokkina, another more impregnable mountain in Lasta, Guxo had followed him and surrounded the mountain: but Ilo, having both water and provisions, with good cultivated spots of ground in the valleys on the top of this mountain, it held out a considerable time.

Ras Welled Selassé, in the year 1807, took both these mountains by storm, as well as Timbilla in Edjow, which is the most formidable mountain in Abyssinia, except Amba Hai, in Samen; the latter is very large, and has a number of villages upon it, as well as much cultivated land and pasture. It was once taken by the Ras Welled Selassé, before I came into Abyssinia, from Ras Guebra. Timbilla is but small, and it was taken through the

treachery of the governor, whom Gojee had put in command of it. The Amhara seldom ever attempt to storm a mountain where there is one or two matchlocks to defend its entrance, always preferring the plain for a field of battle, on account of their having few fire-arms and a very numerous cavalry; while the Tigré, having a few horse only, and a great number of matchlocks, pick out a mountainous place to fight their battles.

The Gas Ackly Marro has given a great portion of his districts near Gondar to his Blitingatore, or secretary, Ilo; viz: Sar Amba, Chilgar, Inchet Amba, Arba Amba, mountainous districts; Quorra, Ginjarge, Ras-el-feel, Rugkie, and another small district near Gondar, Defecha Kedaner Merrit, where the Jews, commonly called Fellashers, have a synagogue, or place of worship, called Merkorra. The Gas Ackly Marro is himself building a town in Maitsha.

Fit-aurari Guebra Kedan, a general of Hilier Mariam's, Gusmarsh of Samen, having deserted his chief, came to join Guebra Michael, and enticed a great part of his army to follow him. The Gas received him kindly, and gave him the income of the district under Ito Hannis in Shiré, to maintain his troops, but numbers soon began to repent the change and return to their native provinces. The Abuna, as usual, kept up con-

tinual disputes with the Gas Guebra Michael and Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac.

I went to Axum, to take leave of Ozoro Sean, the late Ras's wife, and daughter of the king Tecla Gorgis. After my departure from the wilderness of Temben, where I left her, the Gas Guebra Michael took her and had a daughter by her, but, for some particular circumstance, supposed to be that the Gas Guxo would refuse his daughter, while she remained in Tigré, he ordered her to quit the country. She set out for Waldubba, the old residence of her father, with some monks of that place. I accompanied her as far as Segame, through respect to her late husband, the Ras, and then returned; she appeared to be much grieved. "Guebra Michael," she said, "was cursed for ever." Upon my way back I went to Calum Negus, and other places of the ancients, in search of inscriptions, but found nothing but what I had formerly seen. The very day the Gas sent Ozoro Sean away, he sent to Axum, and took Ozoro Cottser to Adowa, whom he took to his bed. Cottser is the daughter of Azgas Sarlu, formerly governor of Maitsha, the regular wife of Tecla Gorgis, though he kept twelve others till his death. Ozoro Serockshis was reckoned the greatest beauty among his wives, and since his death, his eldest son Ilo has

kept her. I often tell him he does wrong, we being old acquaintances; sometimes he denies having any connection with her, and at others confesses it was through the affection he bore his father that he has become in love with her. "I know," said he, "that my father loved her above all others."

Ilo, the son of the late Balgadder Hannis, had two children by one of his father's wives, before his father died; several such cases are known to have occurred, but are not noticed except by the priests, who pretend to absolve the offender from such sins for a trifle of property given to the church, the poor, and themselves.

Buggerunde returned from Ras Guxo, but without his daughter; a few days afterwards he went again on the same errand.

April 1st. I was busily employed in making a mixture of gunpowder and butter for the Gas Michael, to apply as a cure for the itch; his ankle and about the instep of his foot were getting into one great sore, and other parts of his body were thickly covered.

In this month Ito Barrier made his first movement from his own districts, since he came into power. He burned the capital town of Salora, called Deverer Serlammo, and returned to his favourite district Bora.

The Abuna again, on a market day, took a madder fit than usual; he came into the market-place, in the midst of several thousand people, like a man distracted. He found out the place where the drum is kept, to be ready for any order that the Gas may wish to issue, seized the drumstick, and began to lay on, beating the head of the drum in a frantic manner. The people assembled about him in multitudes; some, who attempted to kiss his garments, he struck with fury; and at last he cried out, which was repeated by the interpreter, "I desire that none of you buy or sell, take or bring any thing to or from the market, eat or drink, or have any communication with each other, until the drum is beaten by order of the Gas Guebra Michael, to proclaim me governor over all the districts called Arder Abuna, consisting of two hundred and twenty towns and villages; and all the soldiers, natives of the said villages, shall be placed under my command." To satisfy the populace, the Gusmati Guebra Michael was obliged to comply, and the Abuna's orders were obeyed.

Subegadis marched to Derra, to attack Ito Tecla Gorgis, son of Abba Garlum Carsu, and Ito Hannis of Asmo, who had formed a considerable army to resist him, but they were soon

taken prisoners, and their army beaten. Abba Garlum Carsu died when a prisoner in the hands of Subegadis. The Gas Guebra Michael drafted his men into different parts of the country for wages and provisions; the greater part to Shiré, as this district affords more cloth than any part of the country east of the Tacazzé.

April 11th. Five very fine horses arrived as a present from Ras Guxo to Guebra Michael; but his brother Buggerunde Comfu did not arrive with them. Guxo is now in Socotta, the capital town of Lasta, he having given up for the present the attack of Ras Ilo, who still holds the strong mountain Mokkina. Ackly Marro remains in Maitsha.

Homoda, son of the late Gas Liban, is encamped in the district of Wadler, which is in the dominion of Ras Guxo. It is supposed he means to assist Ras Ilo; he is as powerful as his father was, and his horse are said to amount to eighteen thousand, very little short of Guxo's army in the number of cavalry, but very inferior in foot. He is said by all who are acquainted with him to follow the example of his great-grandfather, Gongual, who conquered all before him as far as Gondar, where he took possession of the king's house for a few days, but always slept in camp at night. His tent having been

blown down one night by the wind, he left the country through superstition; hearing that the Tigré army was advancing, he was afraid to offer battle, the fall of his tent being a bad omen.

April 19th. The great holyday that concludes the long Lent is called Sambat, or Resurrection Sunday. Yesterday the priests, as is customary, went about the town in parties, carrying crosses and other ornaments of the church, marching in procession, and singing in the praise of God and of the person they are going to visit. In this manner they visit every respectable person of the town, at least such as they know to be capable of giving them their fill of victuals and drink some days afterwards. When they enter the house, they first give to the master and mistress, and then to the servants, some green rushes, one of which they tie round the head for that day. They then present the cross for them to kiss, and, after saying the Lord's prayer, proceed to another, and so on, till they have visited every respectable man or woman in the town, who belongs to their quarters. In requital of this attention, they are invited by turns, during the following month, by those whom they have visited, and who, according to their wealth and generosity, will give them a feast of victuals and drink, numbers killing two

or three cows to satisfy these hungry priests with *brindo*.

April 24th. The Gas Guebra Michael went to the Abuna, to endeavour to prevail with him to give up the idea of governing the districts which he had claimed, assuring him it would be an impossibility for him to keep them in peace with each other, without a military force of his own household; and he, being a patriarch, could not march against those who should rebel against him. For this reason and some others, he begged that he would permit Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac to command those districts as formerly; the income should be duly gathered through him, and paid into the hands of the Abuna, and if any deficiency should happen in the payment of these incomes, even to a quart of corn, he, Guebra Michael, would be answerable for it. He also said, bowing to the ground, "If you deny all this which I have requested, let me at least have the soldiers belonging to those districts, which are more than three thousand, and some of them my best men, the loss of whom will weaken my army, and my enemies will find pleasure in oppressing me. I am your son, your dutiful son, from my youth, and my forefathers have followed your religion."

The Gas, having a bad opinion of the Abuna's

interpreter, from his being afraid, or thinking it against his own interest, to explain whatever he should request, had taken me with him to hear the interpretation, and, if I noted any thing deficient, to interrupt and explain it. Accordingly, finding the interpreter was silent with respect to many of the requests which the Gas had repeated, even in saying he would be answerable if Guebra Amlac did not pay him the income to a quart of corn, I interrupted him, and began to explain ; but before I had pronounced half what I had to say, the Abuna raised his stick, and was going to strike at me with vengeance, as he frequently did the Abyssinians, and said, “ Who made you my interpreter, you *Feringee yer Marrarus yer Kaf-far?*” but, seeing me ready to return his blow, he checked his passion. At that moment the Gas and all the chiefs present rose and dragged me out of the room, though none were offended with me. I have before mentioned, that no one is allowed to enter the Abuna’s premises with knives, or any other weapons, all being obliged to unbelt and leave their arms in the hands of their servants, otherwise the wretched Copti would not give himself such high airs as to strike them when he pleases. I have heard numbers of men declare, that if he were to strike them as he did many, they would cut him down, if he was a

prophet from God. Subegadis, in particular, I have heard say such words, as well as many others, observing at the time, "He cannot be a man of God who gets drunk and strikes people." For these reasons, such persons never go near him, for fear of being provoked to resent his misconduct. Subegadis has never been near him since he went to solicit his blessing at Chelicut, two days before his army was destroyed, and he and his relations taken prisoners; it being remarked that the Abuna's blessing was a bad omen.

The Gusmati was obliged to quit his presence without any answer but abuse for harbouring Feringees, meaning me. At the gateway every chief mounted his horse: the Gas ordered me to ride his, and he mounted one belonging to Ito Aftu Gorgis, son of Shum Giralta Toclu; this was done to satisfy me that he was rather pleased than angry with me for my behaviour to the Abuna. The different chiefs, with their small parties of horse, exhibited a sham fight with the Gas and his household, nothing pleasing the Gas so much as to see me fire with my gun and pistols. After some diversion, the Gas rode towards the church of Kudus Michael, every one following him. On approaching the edifice, all dismounted, and proceeded with the Gusmati into

the church, where they waited a few minutes for a prayer and the high-priest's blessing. When they again mounted, they began their former exercise, after crossing the river Assem to the green or market-place, when the Gas put his horse to full speed, in chase of some chiefs who had pretended to run, as they frequently do in such diversions. On coming up, I fired a pistol that was well loaded with powder only, which, being discharged very near the Gusmati's horse, frightened it by the report; when, making a sudden leap on one side, the animal threw the Gas, while some thousands of both sexes were viewing him; the women, as is customary when a chief is mounted and marching into town, singing *Lillerlil*, a kind of huzzaing, called *Lillerlilter*.

The Gas, though a man of middle age, was bald, and had been from his infancy used to wear a turban, which fell off; and this appeared to me to give him more uneasiness than the fall: he received no hurt, though he was greatly annoyed by the exposure of his bald head. The Abyssinians in general joke very much with bald-headed people, though there are numbers in the country. At dinner there was much laughing about it. The poets of the Gas repeated by turns a number of verses, in which they made out the fall to be a lucky omen; asserting that

Ras Michael, and, after him, Ras Welled Selassé, fell on the same spot, while exhibiting their address in the same exercise on the commencement of their power ; but the young women and girls belonging to the town, without doors, were singing the adventure in verse in a very different style. It is a general custom with the Abyssinians, especially with the females, to sing verses of this kind, merely to shew their esteem or contempt for one person more than another. The Gas and his soldiers were obliged to listen without shewing their anger, as it would only make matters worse to fall out with the women ; the only way to put an end to such songs is to be generous, and give each gang a cow. On all great holydays, the women go to the premises of the different chiefs, where they sing in praise of each, till he gives them a cow, but, if he does not, the song is changed to some kind of abuse or ridicule ; and if a chief has ever done anything to the prejudice of his character, such as shewing symptoms of cowardice, or what not, they will make it the subject of a song, which they will sing over and over again for days together, after their domestic work is done. Should a chief have no blemish upon his character, they touch him up for his stinginess, and all are obliged to bear it with patience, or comply with

their demands. They will even make a sham cry if he pays no attention to them, holding a cloth up to resemble the customary cry for the dead. Although he may order his soldiers to beat them away, that would only make things worse, as they would begin upon them by saying, "You can fight well with women, but are afraid to meet your own sex." Very few deny them, in case it be upon a regular holyday, and it is customary to give on such a day. Even if a private soldier, who has killed a lion, an elephant, a *ghosh*, [a wild buffalo] or a Galla, enters his master's premises with his trophy, the young girls of the town plague the master till he gives them a cow. The trophy of the elephant is its trunk, that of the lion the skin, and that of the *ghosh* its large horns. No trophies are shewn of any other wild beast, except it be the *wobo*, which I have before mentioned, and which is seldom met with but in the hotter parts of the country. I once, in the time of Nebrid Aram, saw a snake's skin brought in as a trophy, but it was not reckoned such by the Ras, though it was very large and of an uncommon species.

Next day, the Gas, merely to shew the populace that he had received no harm from his fall, went a-fishing in the lower Assem, whither he was followed by the whole of his chiefs. This

not being a fast day, every one was certain that the Gas only went to this sport to shew that he was nothing the worse for his fall; when he mounted his horse on his return, he exhibited the same feats as yesterday, but there was no firing of pistols: indeed, I did not return with him, as I was busy in catching fish, which, as I have frequently done before, I preserved in vinegar and salt, of which art the inhabitants were quite ignorant, and they seem to dislike the practice, although I observed that they all liked the eating of them very well when so cured. Even beef, that I have salted and cured in different ways, some pickled and some smoked, they have relished very much, as well as dried tongues, &c.; but I never could prevail on any to follow my example, their lazy disposition being, I imagine, the real cause; for it cannot be through any superstitious notion, as in that case they would not be partial to the eating. The bony parts of the animal, which would be much esteemed in Europe for making soups, are here entirely wasted, especially those of the cow, the flesh of which is in general eaten raw, and the bones thrown away with all their substance. As they cut up the animal into a certain number of pieces, each having its proper name, I shall here give the names of the most important pieces, and describe the part

to which they belong, and mention the pieces that are the perquisites of the different household servants; viz:—

Two prime pieces called *tensher*, from the rump-bone down the hind quarters.

Two, called *tarlack*, from the hip-bone, with part of the buttock.

Two, called *shimpte*, from the rump-bone, part of which is joined to it in a long narrow piece, taken from each side of the back-bone as far as the shoulder.

Two, called *shuleda*, from between the *tensher* and *tarlack* before-mentioned; it is a single muscle.

Two, called *gudner-er-diet*, five of the foremost ribs, with the flesh and part of the gristle from the blade.

Two, called *gudner guros*, three ribs, which have the flesh stripped off two, and hanging to the end of the middle rib.

Two, called *ingiddet*, a prime fleshy part, taken from the muscle close to the joint of the thigh-bone.

Two, called *sarage*, from the skirts behind the kidneys.

Two, called *gubberta*, a piece cut from the rib, about half an inch thick, and about a foot and a quarter broad, nearly round.

Two, called *silwada*, a piece hanging to the two hindmost ribs.

One, called *karkarhe*, the short bones that project from the back-bone, between the shoulders and neck, consisting of but little flesh, but much esteemed.

One, called *ackley*, the brisket, &c.

One, called *munguda*, the rump.

Two, called *chickener*, a piece from the inside of the hind-quarter.

Two, called *arcuffa*, the blade-bone and meat.

Two, called *kutchelsessor*, a piece for boiling, from the upper part of the shoulder, which joins the small end of the piece called *shimpte*.

The above-mentioned are the names of the principal parts of the meat brought to the table ; the other parts have a number of names, but are in general cut up in pieces, called *chumker siggar*, which are more than two-thirds of the animal, and are served to the lower class at table. *Tensher* and *tarlack* are in general brought in before the animal is one third skinned, the great people preferring the *brindo* of those pieces while it shivers under the knife. *Shimpte* is also considered excellent *brindo*. One *shuleda* of every animal is the perquisite of the man or woman who makes the maize. *Gudner-er-diet*, a piece for broiling, is esteemed by the great people.

Gudner guros is also esteemed for broiling ; *ingiddet*, fine *brindo* ; *sarage*, *gubberta*, and *silwada*, are broiled ; *ackley*, not liked by people of rank, is in general broiled. *Munguda* is given to the greatest warrior, and is seldom offered to those who have not killed in battle. *Chickener* is a tender part, and, chopped very fine, and mixed with the slimy liquid that runs from the joints of the legs, with pepper and salt, is much esteemed by the great. *Arcuffa* is a fine piece for *brindo*.

One of the *gudner-er-diets* is the perquisite of the keeper of accounts ; part of the neck, called *gogumsha*, belongs to the grass-cutter, the other half to the wood-cutters. From the ears, the flesh down the cheek belongs to the person who bears the master's shield and spear, with one of the fore-shins, the other fore-shin to the woman who washes the maize-jars. The head belongs to the people employed in the maize-house ; of the other shins, one to the *selafe*, the servant of the maize, and the other to the *mahatsowa*, or washing-man. One fine marrow-bone, with about two pounds of flesh, belongs to the assistant maize-woman. They never eat the cow's marrow, but, if they use it, it is to grease their leather ropes, by which they tie the load on mules, asses, &c. The heart belongs to the head groom ; the kidneys, with the bone of the brisket,

to the under-treasurer ; the tripe to the cook-house servant, as well as the liver ; about twenty pounds of meat, called offal, belongs to the porters, the head porter being also the butcher. The skins are divided between the head porter and the *chellica siggar*, captain of the meat.

CHAPTER XIX.

Triumph of the Abuna—His enmity to Pearce, who sets him at Defiance—Movements of Chiefs—Coffa of Slaves—Ozoro Wolleta Raphael—State of the Weather—Feast of Abba Garimur—Conversions—Death of King Itsa Guarlu—Fatal Quarrel—Pearce's Journey to Ardabata—Method of making Gunpowder—Quanter—Ore resembling Silver—Pearce sets off for Gondar, but is obliged to return—Difficulty of crossing the Tacazzé in the Rainy Season—Ito Yoas, and the Sons of King Tecla Gorgis—Barbarity of King Minicuffa—No market held on account of the Rain—Want of Provisions—Battle between Ito Levassey and Ito Ilo—Escape of a Soldier of Subegadis—Interdict of the Abuna—Guebra Michael plunders the districts ceded to the Abuna—Is excommunicated by him.

APRIL 28th. Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac marched with intent to give battle to the gang which the Abuna had raised. I went to accompany him as far as the river Assem, and returned, knowing the minds of the people. Fit-aurari had not got far beyond the Mahomedan burying-ground, when he saw a body, far superior to his, on the side of the hill Moi Gogua; and his own troops, who were formerly as brave as any in Abyssinia, began to dread the curse, and their hearts failed. So Fit-aurari was obliged to return across the Assem, which is the boundary of

the Abuna's territories. This so much pleased the Abuna, that he ordered several cows to be killed, and gave his gang a great feast, and, standing in the midst of them said, "Those who fight for me with all their hearts are blessed, and if they fall in battle they are clear from all former sins; and those who do not fight with a goodwill are cursed for ever and ever." Now this gypsy-looking rascal is himself the most cowardly wretch in the world. At the time the rebels and Telfains destroyed Chelicut, he hid himself in a hole which he had made for that purpose, though they did not intend to harm him; and I heard that, on his coming out, he was in a pretty situation.

29th. The Gas Guebra Michael marched with intent to join Ras Guxo at Socotta. On his taking leave of the Abuna, the latter ordered him to turn me out of Adowa, but not to let me go to Massowa, but to send me either to Galla or Taltal, telling the Gas I put bad thoughts in the heads of his children, and that I told them they were fools for looking upon him like God, &c. The Gas told him that he would not, if he were to die for it, do any such thing, saying, "Pearce has been with us many years, and has behaved far better than any white man ever did before, either in war or peace: he is a well learned Christian,

and has done great things for our churches, by giving books, &c.; and if you are determined that Pearce shall not dwell among us, first turn every Mahomedan out of this country and your own, so that we may all be Christians, both in Egypt and Abyssinia, and then we will send Pearce to the Feringees, as you say he is one." This speech silenced the Abuna, and, the Gas departing, I went with him the first day's march to Moi Galates.

30th. On my arrival at Adowa, I was informed by an old companion that the Abuna had told his soldiers that those who would kill Pearce were blessed by him, let them be ever so sinful before; and, knowing the superstitious minds of these people, I began to be very thoughtful and said to myself—Some of these fools, to get clear of their own sins, as they imagine, will perhaps watch for me, and, when an opportunity offers, will do the business when I am not aware. So I determined to keep in my hut after dark, and, out of the only thirty-five dollars I had in the world, I purchased a neighbour's mare for thirty-two, resolved never to go any where about the country except on horseback and armed.

May 1st. I took a ride close to the Abuna's premises, purposely to see if any fools would

singly or doubly attempt to fulfil their father's orders ; when at some distance from them, I got off my mare, and, while one of my servants held her, I killed three very beautiful birds, after drawing the ball out of my gun and loading it with small tares. I then loaded it with ball, and sat down to skin my birds exactly in the sight of all those assembled at the Abuna's premises, and he himself saw me. After I had skinned the birds, and was laying them between some paper, one of the men-servants of the Abuna, an old acquaintance, came from the party and bade me good morning, and was as civil as when we were always together. I told him to sit down, but he said he was afraid the Abuna would see him, and asked, " Have you not heard what the Abuna has said about you ? " I answered, " I have, and I come on purpose to see if any one will be fool enough to fulfil his order," at which he laughed and said, " I come to decide a wager ; two of your old friends," mentioning their names, " have laid a cow that you have not heard of it. The one says you have, or you would not have come, and the other says you have not, or you would not have come out of the town." Though those people were at some distance, and could not hear me without the Abuna hearing me also, I made a sign with my hand to my ear to signify

I had heard. When the onewho had come to me was going away, he said, "Don't think that any of us are such fools as to do you harm for the sake of the Abuna; the reason we serve him is because he is the best master in these times, as he has no one to fight against him, and he gives us provisions and cloths; and if the whole country were to come against him, he, being Abuna, would with his tongue and cross, drive them all to the devil, as he did Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac," &c., &c.

On the 2nd, news was brought that the Gas Guxo had left Socotta, and had marched towards Daunt. Homoda, son of the Ras Liban, had combined with Gojee and with the troops of Ras Ilo, with intent to give battle to Guxo. Guxo also sent word to the Gas Guebra Michael to release the Bashaw Wolockedan, whom he had treacherously chained, otherwise he would keep Buggerunde Comfu in chains till he complied. As I have before mentioned, Buggerunde Comfu is the eldest brother of the Gas Guebra Michael, who had gone with a great present to Guxo to demand his daughter for the Gas.

3rd. Nothing particular happened between the Abuna and Fit-aurari, as was expected yesterday.

4th. A great *cofla* of slaves arrived. Many

of them being afflicted with the measles, they were ordered to encamp at Moi Gogua. Great part of these slaves had been captured by the Gas Ackly Marro, and sold to the Mahomedan merchants very cheap, some fine boys at the rate of two or three dollars per head. The whole of the Shangalla and Galla adjoining Agow Mudda and the wilderness beyond Agow Mudda formed a very strong army, after they had marched from their own territories, and crossed the wilderness to Agow Mudda. The Gas Ackly Marro was soon informed of their approach, and immediately left Maitsha, and on the third day fell in with them, before they had done any harm to his district. They fought a very desperate battle, but Marro at last drove them and cut them up in the usual manner, besides taking upwards of two thousand prisoners, women, and boys, who were sent or taken to Gondar by those who captured them, and sold cheaper than cattle. Some of the soldiers, who had taken eight or ten and could not find provisions for them, were glad to sell four for a *wakeah* of gold, which was worth at the time eight dollars.

The 5th, being the holyday Abbagarva, Ozoro Wolleta Raphael sent for me very early to go to a church of that name in the country, about six miles off, beyond Deverer Siner. What her motive

was for going thus far to church I cannot affirm, but I had reason to doubt the holiness of her intentions. She took the favourite servant of her husband, the Fit-aurari, with her, and we went with all speed. She did not stay in the church, which is a small hut, nearly fallen down, more than ten minutes, after which she went to the house of a very handsome young man, of the name of Aftu, son of Shum Moda Surtsu. This Aftu, since the death of the Ras, has been in the service of Subegadis. She told me that she had something particular to say to him respecting Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac; so every one of us was ordered into another apartment, and they were left together for about three hours. We afterwards returned with all haste; but it was nearly sunset before we reached home. I heard her husband say to her at supper, "You have had your bellyful of church to-day, Wolleta," to which she answered, "Abbagarva is a good saint, and he deserves to be worshipped."

On the 6th, the Abuna began to employ his gang in building a new house and wall at Moi Shute, which is about three miles from his present house. Fit-aurari Guebra Mehedin, an inhabitant of Moi Shute, is the head of his gang: though an old man, the Abuna has taught him to speak Arabic; so he receives his orders

without any of the inhabitants understanding him.

On the 7th, the Abuna left his premises and went to Mariam Shovite, to consecrate a new church.

The Gas Guebra Michael encamped at Marser, the Gas Woldi Raphael, Ito Dimsu, and Ito Barrier, encamped at Moi Chonguor, right opposite to him, on the east side of the river Gibba ; their army being very numerous, Guebra Michael was afraid to advance any farther. The Gas Woldi Raphael, with the Enderta army, determined to lose every man, before he would suffer Guebra Michael to enter Enderta, and Shum Giralta Toclú was sent by Guebra Michael to Woldi Raphael to propose terms of accommodation, but he returned without settling any thing satisfactorily.

On the 9th, Ito Arriah left the camp of Guebra Michael, together with Shum Temben Aversaw, and Ilo, and marched across the river Gibba, with an intent to harass the stragglers of Woldi Raphael's army, such as grass-cutters and those taking care of horses, mules, &c., at a distance from the camp. Woldi Raphael, being warned of their approach, came upon them with about three hundred horse, and Arriah, Aversaw, and Ilo, were obliged to quit their horses, and fly on

foot through the thick brushwood forest, that parts Alarsa from Enderta. As I have before mentioned, Arriah is the son of Ras Welled Selassé by a Galla slave, and, from the misconduct of his mother, and the deformity in his face, caused, at the age of six or seven, by a cow striking her sharp horn into the left side of the mouth, which cut the cheek open as far as the ear, the old Ras denied that he was his son, and since his death none but Aversaw and Ilo, grandsons of Ito Manassey, the Ras's eldest brother, will own him as a relation.

On the 10th, Guebra Michael fixed his camp near the same spot as before, but on a steep mountain, fearing that Woldi Raphael would come upon him. A few days ago Mr. Coffin arrived, with his partner Zoldi, and left me again, after a short stay, for Ardeserat.

On the 11th, the Gas Hilier Mariam encamped close to the Tacazzé, and sent his *worari* and plundered Overgalle and several other districts belonging to Guebra Michael. Subegadis also burned the district of Asgas Giggarr, the most powerful chief under Guebra Michael.

On the 13th, the people who arrived here from Lasta reported that Homoda and Gojee had done much harm to the army of Guxo, and retreated without any loss. Ras Ilo was still on

the mountain Mokkina, surrounded by the troops of Guxo.

28th. For these fifteen days, nothing has been done by any of the chiefs. The Abuna has nearly completed his new premises ; Fit-aurari still remaining quiet in Adowa.

29th. To-day some thousands of the country-people, with their children and cattle, arrived in the town and at the Abuna's premises, Subegadis having encamped near Adowa, and destroyed several villages, which were in the service of the Gas Guebra Michael. For the last four or five months the *coflas* from all parts have not been molested. Buggerunde Comfu is still in chains with the Gas Guxo, Guebra Michael refusing to set Bashaw Wolockedan at liberty.

30th. To-day a very violent shock of an earthquake was felt, and the sun did not appear an hour during the whole day. Although it was so very cloudy, no rain fell. It is very common in all parts of Abyssinia for the earth to shake ; but it is never attended with any inconvenience beyond that of alarming the inhabitants.

June 1st was also very cloudy, but no rain.

2nd. A very numerous *cofla* with elephants' teeth arrived from Ras-el-feel, Walkayt, and Segudda. The measles having become very prevalent among the townspeople's children, to whom they were

communicated by the last *cofla* of slaves, the present one was not allowed to encamp at Assem, the proper stage.

On the 3rd, the Ras Guebra Michael left Alarser, and marched to Gullybudda, with intent to release Bashaw Wolokedan from his chains.

5th. Very early Wolleta Raphael sent for me to accompany her to Abba Garva, as she had done last month. Every thing happened as before. I had still greater reason to question the holiness of her visit.

6th. A servant of Gas Guebra Michael's arrived in the town, and directed the town-drum to be beat, to order the people to bring grass to thatch the Gas's premises.

7th. The weather still remained very cloudy, and the sun was scarcely seen two hours in the day, but no rain. On Saturday, the principal market-day, there was scarcely any market at all.

On the 8th, the forenoon was very clear, with a hot sun, the afternoon very cloudy, and a few drops of rain.

9th. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain fell. Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac was obliged to quit Adowa, on account of the approach of Subegadis.

10th. The forenoon very clear, and a hot sun. Subegadis quitted his situation at Gundufta, and returned to Soyer Edderga, on account of the Gas Guebra Michael quitting Gullybudda, and marching towards him to Abba Surma. This evening very cloudy, and a misty small rain fell.

11th. The forenoon very clear, and hot sun ; a light shower of rain in the afternoon. The Gas Guebra Michael left Abba Surma, and marched to Ferras Moi. Subegadis quitted Soyer Edderga, and marched to Amba Senate. On the 9th of this month the Gas Hilier Mariam crossed the Tacazzé, and burned and plundered Overgalle and several other villages belonging to the Gas Guebra Michael. The people who arrived here from Wadler informed us that Homoda was encamped in Damot, with intention to give battle a second time to Guxo, should he follow him so far. Ackly Marro had returned from Agow Mudda to Maitsha.

12th. The forenoon very clear ; in the evening a light shower of rain. The Gas Guebra Michael marched towards Trevo. The Gas Woldi Raphael lay encamped at Moi Aggam in Enderta.

13th. The forenoon very clear, and hot sun ; in the evening a slight shower of rain. No stir made by the chiefs.

14th. The forenoon quite clear, and the evening very cloudy, but no rain.

15th. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain; in the evening a heavy storm of wind stripped most of the huts and houses in the Mahomedan part of the town of their thatch. Subegadis, having been joined by his son Ilo, was so much reinforced that the Gas Guebra Michael, with the Temben army, returned from following him, and encamped at Mussowo, a very strong position.

16th. The forenoon very clear and hot; a brisk shower of rain in the evening. Subegadis again returned in sight of the Temben army, and encamped in a strong position at Hargy Iteer Carle.

17th. This day is a very great holyday and feast for Abba Garimur, when every class from all parts of the country assemble at the church, which I have often mentioned. No females are allowed to go into the church of Abba Garimur. I went with some of my neighbours, a little before daybreak, and arrived just as the sun was getting warm. This is as curious a sight as any other holyday: some thousands of women stand in different groupings between the church Abba Garimur and the church below it, called Mariam Zacharias, belonging to the tribe of Oun Arvel, who

also mingle among them. Trumpeters, drummers, and *imbiters*, or fifiers, stand in a gang. About two hours after sunrise, the altar is brought out of the church, covered with silks, by the priests, dressed in silks and rags of all colours, silver and gold crowns, and ornaments; pictures and all the various riches of the church are brought out for the populace to do them honour. The priests dance and sing in the maddest postures; the women shout, the Zacharias wildly halloo, and the trumpeters, &c., make all the noise they possibly can. Gangs of young girls, in separate places, dance and sing to the beat of a drum, and some of the priests make crosses on the foreheads of boys and girls, giving the scene altogether the appearance of a Gentoo wedding in India. It being the second day of the Soam Ouot, or the fast for the apostles, no meat is killed, but the priests get beastly drunk, after the sacrament is administered, towards evening. The sun shone very hot and clear until mid-day, after which it became cloudy, and about two hours before sunset there fell a heavy shower of rain, which lasted until after dark.

18th. The whole day very clear, till about two hours before sunset, when very suddenly the air was nearly darkened, and a heavy shower of rain and hail fell, and lasted until dark. The

rivers Assem and Moi Gogua were overflowed and impassable until cock-crow.

19th. The forenoon very clear till mid-day, and afterwards very cloudy : towards evening a very heavy shower fell, after which a slight rain continued the whole night.

In the morning a curious exchange took place ; two grown people, Christians, turned Mahomedans, and two young Mahomedan boys, in consequence of their masters beating them, ran to the Abuna's premises, and turned Christians. The Mussulmans did all they could to get the boys back, but to no purpose ; no one interfered about the Christians ; indeed such fallings-off from their faith are occurring continually among the Christians, and it is not thought shameful as formerly.

20th. A misty small rain began about cock-crow, and lasted the whole day, and the sun never made its appearance.

Itsa Guarlu, king of Gondar, who died on the 12th day of last month, was buried in the church Mariam Gimgar Bate : his death was not made public, nor was it known to his nearest neighbours for more than a month ; which is generally the case when any person of high rank dies, if the event can possibly be kept secret. This is managed by the household servants and favourites,

who, when the chief is dead, send to all who held lands or property under him, desiring them to bring their rent, which is called Negus Gibbra. When they arrive, the Blitingatore and other Balermals of the deceased inform them that their master is ill and cannot be seen, and that he has ordered them to receive the money or articles they bring, which they pretend to write down on parchment to show their master afterwards. Having in this manner received all, they make known the circumstance, and a public cry is made in the market-place for many days. Guarlu was always very sickly and of a weak constitution; he was son to Itsa Ischias. His brother Yasous and sister Mantwaub died at Chelicut, in 1812, of the small-pox, and there is only one brother living, called Yoas. Ito Zerobabel, younger son of the late king Tecla Gorgis, is trying to get Guarlu's situation, but there is very little likelihood of his succeeding. At present no stir is made by any of the Gusmaties. Yesterday evening the Abuna entered his new premises.

21st. About midnight, when I and two more returned from shooting a wild pig, at Shulada, where they are sometimes very plentiful in the beginning of the rains, we heard that there was a quarrel, about five or six huts from ours, and we

ran immediately to see who were the parties. We found one dead, and his murderers, our own acquaintance, quarrelling to decide what was best to be done with him. Wollace, the principal among them, told me all that had happened; he said the deceased and the person who first commenced the quarrel were both near-relations; the former came into the hut to turn the other out, and take the woman with whom he was lying, both being favourites of her's. She said, "Why have you both come at once? Why cannot one of you come another time?" The deceased had not given her notice the day before, as the other had done; and, seeing no knife, spear, or shield, hanging up, as his antagonist had hung up his in the next hut to Wollace and his companions, he drew his knife and called him by name to go out of the hut, which he did and ran and fetched his spear and shield, without telling Wollace and his companions what had happened. However, they all ran after him armed, seeing him in a fury. The one who had turned him out, hearing him and them coming, endeavoured to get out of the door, but, in attempting it, his adversary gave him a stab in the shoulder, as he stooped to crawl out, and his companions all began to cut him as they would a wild hog coming out of a pit; there was scarcely any part

of his body without a wound. In the morning some of his relations buried him; the murderers still remaining in the town unconcerned, there being no one to punish them; and what is more remarkable, the woman never attempted to make any alarm, and I saw her laughing and telling another girl how they pinned him in the doorway.

This forenoon was very cloudy, and a small misty rain commenced about mid-day, and lasted till after dark. Although it was the principal market-day, scarcely any body came, as every one robs and plunders as he pleases, there being no head in the town.

On the 22nd, I left Adowa to go to Arderbahti with a friend. The forenoon was very clear: about mid-day thunder and a heavy rain commenced, and lasted till the evening. I and my friend stayed for the night at Deverer Siner.

23rd. This morning was very misty, and the sun did not appear until mid-day. After hunting for pigs and guinea-fowl, we reached an acquaintance's house at Arderbahti before the rain came on, which was very heavy in the evening.

24th. We began very early to make some powder, in hopes of getting it ready to-day before the rain should come on; but, as we were

obliged to dry the willow-wood, which we only cut yesterday green, upon the Moi Gogo, and the rain began to fall very heavily about mid-day, we were prevented from proceeding for about an hour and a half; when the sun again appeared and we had an opportunity of making our powder into grains, after taking it from the mortar. In this country, when they want powder in a hurry, they first pound the brimstone and charcoal separately; they then measure it, as is customary, with a hollow cane, called *shambacco*, which cane is cut of a proper length for a cartridge-belt, one caneful and a half of sulphur to seven canefuls and a half of saltpetre. After the saltpetre is measured, it is put upon the oven, or any old earthen pan, with a brisk fire under it, till it becomes as hot as they can possibly make it without consuming it, and then they mix the brimstone with it, and immediately throw it into the mortar, while two people pound it with pestles and add, by degrees, charcoal, a little at a time: when it becomes too dry they put a little water, to keep it moist, taking a little bit now and then to dry upon a stone, to try if there is sufficient charcoal. When nothing is left upon the stone, after they have set fire to it, they consider that it is sufficiently mixed: they then, while it is a little moist, form it into large grains through

a kind of grass-sieve. The rain again began, before our powder was dry, and we were obliged to lodge with our friend for the night.

25th. In the forenoon the sun shone very hot, and we dried our powder, and set out, taking three days provisions with us. Before any rain came on we crossed the Mareb, where we shot two guinea-fowls, and a pig, after which we made haste to get to a cave, in the side of the mountain, where we had agreed to take up our lodging. We did not reach it before we were drenched with rain, and, after getting a load or two of the driest wood we could find, we made a good fire and broiled our guinea-fowls, and when we had eaten them we began to cut up our hog into strings, called *quanter*, and hung up several cords in the cave for the purpose, sprinkling over our *quanter* a little salt, which we had brought with us, and then hung it upon the cords to dry.

After sleeping and keeping watch, by turns, with a good fire burning, to prevent the approach of wild beasts, for the night, we went down into the plain very early in the morning of the 26th, leaving our boys to mind the *quanter*. We saw a great many elephants in the depth of the forest, but, having no gun large enough, we did not disturb them; indeed, our intention was to take a good stock of *quanter* to Adowa, and not to shoot

at any thing but what was eatable. After hunting till near mid-day we began to return, and after killing and skinning a large hog, an *aggerzeen*, and two *talebadelas*, we took as much of the flesh as our four men could carry, and arrived at our cave just as the rain commenced. Our two boys had collected plenty of dry wood, and, after broiling some meat and eating, we began to cut *quanter*, but did not finish till we got tired, and night came on.

We passed the night like the last, and in the morning of the 27th, while Gabriate, my companion, with two men, went down into the plain to hunt, I and the rest were employed in curing the *quanter*. We took all off the cords, and spread it in the sun, which was very powerful in the forenoon; and, while I was going about on the side of the mountain, which is full of hollow rocks or caves, I observed a spot, about twelve yards in circumference, covered with square stones, which, although Nature formed them, appeared as if they were cut. I was curious enough to break some of them; to my great surprise I found them all to contain a kind of metal resembling silver; I took a sample of them, and gave it to my boys to put into my goatskin, to send to Mr. Salt, for inspection.

Gabriate returned before the rain came on, with the hind quarters of a *madocquar* and one guinea-fowl; as the rain began we hung our *quanter* upon the cords again. In the evening, the rain, thunder, and lightning, were tremendous, and the wild animals, especially hyænas, were roaring as if distressed.

We passed the night as before, and, in the morning of the 28th, the sun rising very clear, we spread our *quanter* to dry for about two hours, when, taking the driest first, we put it all into our skins. After we had packed it up, we had six large skins full, and we set out for home, well contented, with all speed. I took Gabriate behind me on my mule, and in about three hours we reached the Mareb, which we found too full for us to cross, on account of the heavy rains the night before. After waiting for nearly two hours, it became lower, and we then crossed with some difficulty, and lucky it was no rain came on, though it was very cloudy. In the afternoon, we did not wish to trouble our first friend, but went to lodge with another at Arderbahti, who received us kindly. In the evening the rain fell very heavy.

On the 29th, we set out very early, with a clear and hot sun. On our way we stopped a little time to dry our *quanter* in the sun, to

preserve it, as it had not been perfectly dried ; after which we packed it up, and set out in hopes of reaching Adowa ; but, the rain coming on, we stopped at a friend's at Moi Shute, close to the Abuna's premises, but he never heard of us.

On the morning of the 30th, we entered Adowa, where I and Gabriate parted our *quantar*. Gabriate having been unwell, he ate hog's flesh as freely as myself ; otherwise, as I have before mentioned, none of the Abyssinians eat hog's flesh, except such as pretend to eat it by way of physic : it is detested by the priests and father-confessors. Since I left Adowa no stir had been made by any of the Gusmaties.

July 1st. Subegadis from some particular motive left his position, and marched back into the heart of his own country, Agamé. The Gas Guebra Michael left Moi Shute, and marched to Anterchou. This forenoon was very clear, but it rained from mid-day till night, with much lightning and thunder.

2nd. The whole day very clear till nearly dark, when very heavy rains began.

On the 3rd, a misty rain began before day-break, and lasted the whole day. In the afternoon the *coflu* for Massowa left the town, and I sent by this opportunity two large elephants'

teeth, which the Gas Ackly Marro had given me, to be sold at Massowa.

On the 4th, the misty rain still continued till evening, when it ceased: the sun never made its appearance this day. The Gas Guebra Michael left Anterchou, and marched to Gella, where he plundered a village belonging to Ito Houke, a servant of Subegadis, where he found plenty of corn for his troops.

5th. I left Adowa, with the *cofla*, for Gondar, where I intended to stop a few weeks; but, before we had got as far as Axum, we were met by a part of a *cofla*, which had crossed the Tacazzé on the 1st of this month, and they informed us that we were too late, as that river was already full, and in crossing they had lost a great Negade of the name of Gabri Mariam, a native of Adowa, with five slaves and several asses. The rest of the *cofla*, who would not venture to cross, had turned back to Howwozer to winter, or remain during the rains. On hearing this, a friend who went with me was in a great hurry to return to Adowa, it being the feast after the fast for the apostles, and he, being a faster, as soon as we got into town and to his house, unpacked his goods, killed a sheep, and invited a friend, who had the good fortune to arrive safe with the *cofla* from Gondar.

The Tacazzé is in general passable for *coflas* till the middle of this month, but the early and heavy rains of this season caused it to overflow very early. Messengers and people without burthen cross during the whole of the rains upon a raft, called *onquor*.

The Gusmarsh Ackly Marro, and Ras Guxo, have taken it into consideration to place Ito Yoas, younger brother to the late Itsa Guarlu, on the throne at Gondar; Zerobabel and Merrit being of a bad disposition, like their father Tecla Gorgis. The majority of the great men and priests had advised Guxo not to let either of them advance to the title of Itsa, though Merrit was certainly of high descent, being the son of the king Tecla Gorgis by Ozoro Houdar, daughter of the Ras Michael by Ozoro Altash, daughter of Itsa Yasous Tarlack, or king Yasous the great, by Ozoro Mantwaub, daughter of Ozoro Hunkey, the daughter of Itsa Minicuffa: though Mantwaub's father was not descended from kings, Minicuffa having given Hunkey to one of his favourite soldiers.

The cruelty of Minicuffa will never be forgotten while Christianity exists in Abyssinia. One curious piece of barbarity I have read in the history of his time. A Turk whom he had sent for from Arabia, to make mortar to build with, was some months in his service in this laborious

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employment, when one day he called the poor fellow from his work in the court to drink maize. After he had washed his hands, he was ordered to sit down in the midst of many great men, and was served with a large hornful of maize, but, not having eaten any thing that day, and being afflicted with a complaint in his bowels, before he would drink he cut off three cloth buttons from his shirt and swallowed them. Minicuffa, seeing him do this, asked him the reason, and the poor Turk told him that he was tormented with three large worms in his belly, and that if he drank before he ate something, they would trouble him the whole day by turning about in his bowels; adding that each worm would take one of those three buttons, and be quiet till the next day. This greatly surprised Minicuffa, who ordered him to be cut open immediately, which was done, and Minicuffa found worms, as the Turk had told him, and he was afterwards very sorry for what he had done.

The present king, Itsa Yoas, began to reign in the same dependent situation in which his brother had been placed for nineteen years. On the 14th of June he was anointed with oil by the Echeggi, and crowned by the inhabitants of Gondar, by order of Ras Guxo and the Gusmarsh Ackly Marro. Yoas, ever since the death of his brother

and sister, Yasous and Mantwaub, had lived with the monks in Waldubba, through grief, which pious action occasioned Guxo to choose him for king in preference to his nephews, who are a wild and wretched set. Ras Guxo has returned to Deverertavor for the rains.

6th. The forenoon very clear; in the afternoon very heavy showers. Every mountain and rock is now become green. The heavy rains will not permit the Gusmaties in camp to quit their positions.

7th. This is the great yearly holyday for the Trinity.

8th. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain. The small-pox has made great havoc among the slaves, who arrived within the last two months.

9th. The forenoon sometimes cloudy and sometimes sunshine; the afternoon ended with a misty rain.

10th. Very cloudy the whole day, but no rain.

11th. The forenoon very clear; the afternoon cloudy, but no rain.

12th. Heavy rain commenced about cock-crow, and continued so violent that no market was held the whole day.

13th. The rain, which had continued the whole night, was reduced to a thin misty rain,

which continued the whole day. Not having a grain of corn in my house, I was obliged to set out in the worst of weather, with three boys, to buy a dollar's worth at a great distance: indeed, many of the townspeople were obliged to do the same, on account of the market not being held. The rain did not cease the whole day. On my return home late at night, I felt great pain from the effects of my former disease, which brought on a fever.

14th. A misty rain still continued, and did not cease till nearly dark; indeed the sun has never made its appearance since Friday. Some people arrived this day from Walkayt, who had crossed the Tacazzé on *onquors*, who say that many people have been lost in crossing. The Walkayt road is in general a safe road, as the Tacazzé is there very broad; in a plain, higher up, it is not one-third of the breadth, and consequently it must there run very rapidly. I have not seen such heavy rains the whole thirteen years I have been in Abyssinia, as have occurred in the present season.

15th. The rain, which again commenced soon after dark, has lasted ever since; towards evening misty and small rain.

16th. The same weather; we have not had a sight of the sun these five days; a long con-

tinued rain like this is called *chissur* in Amhara and Tigré.

On the 17th, the sun made its appearance in the morning, for about ten minutes, and then the air became dark, and a misty rain lasted the whole day. The Gas Guebra Michael, on the approach of Subegadis, left his situation, and encamped in Mumser. Although I was not quite well, I went to his camp at midnight, and, after I had paid my respects to the Gas, I left the camp, and returned home in the midst of a continued rain. The Gas remained at Mumser, the rain this day not permitting him to march.

On the 19th, I went again in the morning, with some of the Gas's soldiers, to meet him when coming into the town. In the afternoon the sky still very cloudy, with misty rain. To-day the market is little better than it was last Saturday, and corn is scarcely to be had at any rate.

20th. The whole day very rainy and misty. On Friday last, two chiefs of Ardarro arrived; one, my old friend Ito Levassey, and the other, Ito Ilo, son of the late Ito Dangish, a very powerful chief in that part of Abyssinia. These two chiefs had, for many weeks before, disputed about their districts. A battle took place in the morning, and ended after great slaughter.

Levassey, towards evening, gained a good position, and before dark Ilo was obliged to fly. Levassey took prisoner Ilo's mother, Ozoro Ardean, and plundered all her premises. She was one of the richest women in Abyssinia. To-day a favourite servant of Subegadis was found in the town, and the Gas Guebra ordered him to be chained and kept closely confined.

On the 21st, I went early in the morning, in very bad weather, to a cry for a relation of Asgas Giggar. On our return, the Gas was informed of the escape of Subegadis's soldier, who was chained to one of the Gas's favourite servants, a strong and powerful young man. Subegadis's servant contrived to conceal in his cloth, round his waist, a small knife, at the time he was chained; and, his great knife being taken from him, he with the small one managed to cut the throat of the man to whom he was chained, and, cutting off his hand by the wrist joint, he got off clear, with chains and all, in the night. I never saw Guebra Michael so much enraged before, and what vexed him most was the loss of one of his best men. I could not help smiling, as I knew his master had done the same thing in the time of Ras Welled Selassé. This morning the sun made its appearance for about three hours, but it rained in the evening.

22nd. The Abuna caused it to be proclaimed, that no church was to be opened, and no sacrament administered, in any part of the countries of Guebra Michael and of Fit-aurari Guebra Amlac, on account of Guebra Michael having taken part with Amlac, and ordered the town drum to be beat to proclaim Guebra Amlac governor of the districts which the Abuna had claimed. The morning was very clear, the afternoon cloudy and rainy.

23rd. The Gas Guebra Michael went to the Abuna's, to entreat him to open the churches, &c., but he returned without success. The whole day was clear and very hot till the evening, when heavy rain and thunder commenced.

24th. The Gas Guebra Michael sent his soldiers, and plundered several villages, and tied their chiefs for having joined the Abuna. This forenoon clear, afternoon cloudy and rainy.

25th. The whole day misty, with showers of rain.

26th. The Gas again sent some soldiers to plunder some villages belonging to the Abuna, the churches being still shut up and no sacrament administered. The Abuna next gave orders that none were to bury the dead, till his districts were restored to him. The whole day misty, but no rain.

27th. The Abuna issued orders that no-one should draw water, break or cut wood, grind or give corn, to the Gases Guebra Michael and Guebra Amlac, nor even speak to them : but this order was not obeyed like the two former. The forenoon sometimes clear and sometimes cloudy, the afternoon rainy.

29th. Every thing very unsettled, and the people in crowds murmuring, but appearing to be more afraid of the Gas than of the Abuna. The weather as yesterday.

30th. Every thing still unsettled, and several dead bodies in the church-yards. The whole day very cloudy and rainy.

CHAPTER XX.

Disturbed State of the Country—Assemblage of Priests—Guebra Michael's Troops refuse to face them—The Gas is forced to comply with the Orders of the Abuna—He takes off the Interdict—Stations of Chiefs—State of the Weather in the Rainy Season—Clay Houses demolished by the Rains—Atrocious Incendiary—A Rich Beggar—The Priests frighten the Abuna—Public Bathing—New Year's Day—Pearce accepts Service under Gas Ischias—Battle between Ischias and Guebra Michael—Narrow Escape of Pearce, who takes sanctuary at Axum, and Capture of Ischias—Festival of the Holy Cross—Guebra Michael takes Pearce again into favour—His Kindness to Pearce—Release of Gas Ischias.

AUGUST 1st. This is the first day of the fast of the Virgin Mary, called Felsetter, and reckoned a very holy day, but the authority of the Abuna prevented any one visiting the churches. Mobs of people in every part of the town, and every thing in greater confusion than at the death of Ras Welled Selassé. The whole day clear and hot until evening, which ended with rain, thunder, and lightning.

2nd. This morning very misty, with light rains. The priests began to flock into the town from all quarters, and great disturbances commenced where the troops of the Gas Guebra Michael were quartered. Several people went to the Abuna for

permission to bury the dead, which he gave saying, " Bury them, that their smell may not reach me, and their souls that I have cursed." The whole day continued misty and rainy.

3rd. Very early, some thousands of priests assembled at the Gas Michael's and Guebra Am-lac's premises, shouting and making a lamentable noise, and desiring that they would comply with the Abuna's orders, otherwise, they said, " God would rain down fire upon them, and destroy them ;" and though the whole day was very rainy, these priests stood in it, annoying the Gas and every other chief under him.

4th. Soon after day-light the Gas, who had been assembling his troops the whole night, set out for the Abuna's ; he had sent for me to accompany him and to be his interpreter, and the Abuna, being warned of our approach, assembled his rebel mob and sent a priest with his cross. Before we had crossed the river Gogua, this priest stood on the opposite side, holding the Abuna's cross aloft, and crying out to the Gas's people, " Any one who crosses the river in sight of this cross is cursed for ever." He had no occasion to shout often, for the Gas's troops stood as if thunderstruck. The Gas strove to encourage his men to march over, but, instead of so doing, they all sat down, declaring that they

could not fight against God. The Gas then said to me, "Do you go over, and perhaps they will afterwards have courage to proceed." I obeyed his orders, and rode over upon my mule to the priest, with whom I began to talk; but this had no effect upon the soldiers, and rather caused them to insult me on my return, saying, "You are cursed by our white father." After sitting for some time in this confused state, the Gas called all his chiefs round him, and, after some consultation, thinking it of no use to contend with the Abuna, they consented to send me to him, desiring him to take the curse off his people, that they might cross over to him peaceably, as they were ready to agree to what he desired of them. I went, and found the holy man seated in the midst of his forces, like the captain of a gypsy gang, and he very sulkily asked me what I had come for. I told him my message, in the presence of Ito Bartel, Ito Carli, and Ito Aftu, his head generals, and he consented to see the Gas the next day, desiring that he would come with as few people as possible, except priests. At this time the priests had covered the whole plain between Moi Gogua and Adowa. After I had conveyed the Abuna's answer to the Gas, we returned to the town. While I was with the Abuna he appeared to be intoxicated, and talked very freely,

saying, "Have you had any news from Egypt?" and laughing, added, "When I make it up with the Abuna* I will make it up with you also." The whole day cloudy, with but little rain.

5th. This morning we again went to the Abuna's, in the midst of not less than twenty thousand people. Immediately, on our arrival at the Abuna's, the Gas and his chiefs were ordered in, and, after a long debate, the Gas was obliged, greatly against his will, to agree to the Abuna's desires. After all was settled, the town-drum was beat at the Abuna's, and in the market-place of Adowa, to proclaim Ito Bartel, Ito Carli, and Ito Aftu, governors under the Abuna of the districts called Arder Abuna, when the Abuna ordered the churches to be opened, the dead to be buried, and religious rites to be performed as usual. Before we reached Moi Gogua, the heaviest rain and hail I ever saw in my life commenced, but it did not last a quarter of an hour; the whole day until then had been very clear.

6th. The churches were full from morning to evening, when the sacrament was administered. Hundreds of boys, girls, old women, and men,

* Probably meaning the patriarch of Egypt, from whom, through the intervention of Mr. Salt, he had most likely received a severe reprimand for his misconduct since his arrival in Abyssinia.—*Editor.*

fed upon it like young rooks, crammed by the schoolboys in the country-schools in England. The whole day a hot sun, till nearly evening, when a very heavy shower fell.

7th. No stir among the Gusmaties, and no signs of their doing any thing till the rains are over. The Gas Guebra Michael has received almost the whole of the Tigré and Shiré income. The Gas Marro still remains in Agow Mudda; Ras Guxo, at Deverertavor, in Begemder; Gas Hilier Mariam, at Inchetkaub, in Samen; Gas Woldi Raphael, at Antàlo, in Enderta; Ito Barrier, at Bora, in Agow; and Subegadis, at Agamé; all preparing for war on the cessation of the rains. The Gas Homoda has quitted Damot and returned to Daunt.

8th. The forenoon very hot and clear. At midday a very heavy shower of rain fell, after which sunshine till evening.

9th. Very cloudy, and the sun peeping through the clouds for ten minutes, now and then; in the evening very heavy rain.

10th. Market-day; every thing more plentiful and cheaper than usual. A hot sun the whole day, till evening, when rain commenced.

11th. This day begins the holy week, in the fast for the Blessed Virgin.

12th. The whole day very clear, but rain towards night.

13th. The forenoon very clear, several heavy showers in the afternoon.

14th. The weather as yesterday.

15th. The whole day very misty, with but little rain.

16th. The great holyday Filsetter, which ends the fast of the same name ; though, being Friday, the regular fast-day, the feast is to be kept the following day. The whole day very misty, with light rains.

17th. Although the regular market-day, no one was to be seen in the market-place, all being engaged in their feasting. The Gas sent me a cow, Asgas Giggat another, Palambarus Safu another, and several others sent me a sheep or a goat. I received in all eleven sheep and goats, and three fat cows. The whole day very cloudy, but no rain.

18th. The forenoon clear ; the afternoon cloudy, with little rain.

19th. Every thing for these few days past very quiet, till this morning, when the Abuna sent to the Gas, to demand the estates belonging to the priests of Kudus Michael, Kudus Gabriel, and Axum, which made the priests begin to murmur against the Abuna. This much pleased the Gas

and other chiefs, because those priests had before taken part with the Abuna against the Gusmati. The whole day very cloudy, and light rains.

20th. The day very rainy. Yesterday Ito Seraphel, who formerly killed Ito Dimsu, and the son of Ito Guebra Mudda, fought a very sharp battle in the district of Mudda, a little distance from Axum. Ito Guebra's son was defeated, but many were killed on both sides.

21st. The whole night and day very rainy and misty.

22nd. The same weather. Scarcely any of the houses called *eddermos* were left standing. *Eddermo* is a flat-topped house, built of clay and stones, and the top of the same, covered over with wood. These *eddermos*, in Adowa, generally stand many years; but the heavy rains of this season made great havoc, and many people have been killed by these dwellings suddenly falling in the night. The clay in Adowa is superior to any in Abyssinia. A wall built of it by Ras Faris, seventy years ago, is still standing, and many other buildings from the time of Ras Michael, fifty years ago, are perfect; while, in Gondar, the earth they have to build with would not last one rainy season. All the houses, therefore, are thatched, and their walls covered with straw on the top.

I remember, about nine years ago, a dreadful deed was committed in Adowa. A man, because his kept mistress refused to see him and lived with another, brought a load of *taff* straw, about midnight, and, after tying the door of the woman's house, placed the load of straw at the door, and set fire to it; in less than ten minutes the whole thatch was on fire, and not a soul escaped; her new acquaintance, herself, her two sisters, with two children each, a servant-boy and girl, in all ten persons, perished. The man who committed this act is now in Adowa. He fled to Walkayt during the life of Ras Welled Selassé, but returned at his death.

23rd. The weather still very misty, with small rain; the *taff* and all other grain, excepting beans and the grain called *daguxo*, are generally damaged by the wet weather.

Great disturbances have again taken place between the priests and the Abuna, on account of his claiming a right to their land.

24th. The weather still very wet and misty.

To-day an old woman died whom I have known for many years past as a beggar, both in Enderta, Amhara, and Tigré, with scarcely a rag to cover her; about three hours before her death, she gave her father confessor, in the presence of her neighbours, eighty-two *wakeahs* of gold, and five dol-

lars for her *toscar*, or *fettart*. I have often said that the Abyssinians in general will go naked and hungry during their life-time, to save money for the priests, or *toscar*, after they are dead. When the inhabitants heard of her leaving so much money for the benefit of her soul, there were as many assembled at her cry in the market-place, as if she had been the daughter or wife of a king.

25th. This morning the sun appeared for about two hours; it was afterwards cloudy for the remainder of the day, with little rain.

26th. The priests, in incredible numbers, assembled at the Abuna's; and, after a long debate, they frightened him, by saying, they would not allow that he was a proper patriarch from Alexandria, but that he was sent merely by Mohammed Ali, from Egypt. Seeing them so enraged, he complied with their wishes, and in an artful way said, "I have been mistaken in looking over the accounts of the Abuna's districts." Thus the priests carried the day, though the Gas had been obliged to yield.

The whole day very dark and cold, but no rain.

27th. The day as yesterday, till evening, when thunder, lightning, and heavy rain, came on, and lasted till midnight, such dreadful storms often happening at the conclusion of the rains.

28th. The whole day very clear and hot.

29th. The forenoon clear; in the afternoon rain, thunder, and lightning.

30th. Clear and windy, no rain.

Pogme the 1st. The first day of the five odd days at the year's end. This is the year of St. Luke; the years of St. Luke, St. Matthew, and St. Mark, have all five odd days; that of St. John, which is the next year, is the leap-year, and has six odd days. Several people fast, but it is not a regular custom; they also bathe on all these days. A hot sun, and no rain the whole day.

2nd. The same weather. I afforded fine diversion to many hundreds of the inhabitants, men and girls, by going with the Gas's soldiers to swim; as my white skin among one hundred or more black ones, swimming together, drew all the girls and even the old women to see it. I often went to swim at a great distance from the town, and had I known that I should have drawn the attention of the working-people to see me on this occasion, I should not have been persuaded to strip so near the town; though, as it is a general custom in all parts of Abyssinia on these days, it did not occur to me that I should be the cause of so much merriment.

3rd. This is the holyday Kudus Raphael; all persons of every class, and of both sexes, bathe

or wash themselves at home. The forenoon very hot; a brisk shower of rain in the afternoon.

4th. Heavy clouds, but no rain.

5th. Very clear and hot.

September 1st. New year's day, and the holyday and feast of Kudus Yohannis, or St. John the Baptist: the weather like the foregoing day. On this day the boys and girls gather flowers to make nosegays, and take them to the higher sort of people with whom they are acquainted, for which they in general receive some small present, or have something given them to eat and drink, similar to the new-year's gifts in England. The unsettled state which the country has been in for these three years, does not permit them to carry on their diversions, as I formerly remember them. Every one, both old and young, washes in the river at midnight, and all the mules and horses are washed in the forenoon.

2nd. In the night a servant came to me from the Gas Ischias, and told me that his master had sent for me: being in hopes that he was going to order me some provisions, I set out immediately, and we reached Arder Serat, where he was in his own premises. I was greatly surprized to find him in the midst of all his troops feasting: he had killed eleven cows, and every one appeared to have had his full share of maize. He ordered

broiled meat to be brought to me, and we sat drinking until near midnight.

3rd. He called me a little after cock-crow, and told me that he was going to give battle to Guebra Michael, and was sure God would give him his father's dominions. He also told me, that if I would serve him, and he prospered, he would be a father to me. I told him, that if he would give me wages and provisions, "I would die before him"—the common saying in this country—with several other boastful words; when he gave me a dark bay horse of his own, and promised that, if he gained the victory, he would give me good pay*. Soon after day-light, five cows were killed, and we began to be merry with maize, the soldiers coming by turns boasting, in the way of the country. In the afternoon we left Arder Serat, and encamped on a wild spot, between that place and Zonze. In the evening we had a light shower of rain; the rains being nearly quite over.

* I am afraid there is not much to be said in favour of poor Pearce, for this sudden and unprovoked desertion of Guebra Michael, from whom, for a long time, he appears to have received much kindness and protection. Some allowance must undoubtedly be made for the roving habits he had acquired during the distracted state of the country; but, after all, it will, perhaps, be more charitable to attribute his ingratitude to the temporary effects of the maize and good cheer, than to any natural treachery in his disposition.—*Editor*.

4th. The Gas Guebra Michael had received information of the Gas Ischias's intention to take him unawares, while his troops were in the country places, collecting their wages, &c.: he had therefore sent and called them nearly all in, and we were greatly surprised to hear that he had this morning left Adowa with the design of surrounding the Gas Ischias, and great fear began to appear in our small camp, as we had not a larger force than three thousand spears and one hundred matchlock-men. However, the Gas put us in as good a position as he could, and we kept a sharp look-out all night. When we saw the fires of the Temben army, on the slope of the mountain, on the opposite side of the plain, I found that every soldier in our camp was struck with dread; and they put out all their fires, for fear of their being seen and serving as guides to Guebra's army in the night. I now began to think of my folly; the Tembans were more than twenty thousand spearmen, and nearly one thousand matchlocks; yet, notwithstanding this great superiority, the Gas Ischias was determined to give battle in the situation we held, which was a small mountain, on one side very steep and impassable, and on the other a plain. The Gas Ischias said to his men, "Be brave, I dreamt that God had given me the whole of Ras Michael's dominions."

5th. Very early we saw the Temben army descending to the plain; we placed the matchlocks in the spot we thought likely to be first attempted by the horse, and our spearmen in such positions as we thought best. In about an hour the Fit-aurari of the Tembans came close, and made an attempt to drive us, but he was repulsed with great loss. He then remained quiet until the main army came up; Safu, brother of the Gas Guebra, came on one side, with more than eight thousand, and the Gas himself with about the same number, on the other side, while the Fit-aurari again began the attack in our front. As soon as the shouting and firing commenced, our army began to fly in all directions, and we were left with not more than a hundred with the Gas Ischias. We kept on firing, until they had fairly surrounded us. The Gas Ischias then said, "We will make a push through the Fit-aurari, and those whom God takes out clear he takes." Having loaded my gun and pistol again, I first fired at them, and then put my horse to full gallop right through them, and firing the second time, my horse rode over one or two, and got clear through them, with about fifteen of the foremost horsemen. We never stopped till we reached Axum, where no one could touch us, but they chased us even within the church walls. The

Gas Ischias was taken in the beginning of our attempt to break through the Fit-aurari.

6th. I remained at the house of an old Greek, whom I have before mentioned.

7th. My servant, who had been taken and stripped of all, but luckily not used barbarously, having fallen into the hands of some acquaintances, came to me and brought me my things and provisions from Adowa, as I dared not venture out of Axum.

From the 8th to the 15th, I never ventured out of the Greek's house, which is in the church-yard.

16th. A day of great merriment; people of all classes tie round the head a piece of a rough running kind of plant called *sunnar*; which signifies that the rains are completely over, the corn nearly ripe, and that rejoicing will follow.

17th. Mascal, or holy cross, the greatest holy-day in the whole year. The boys and girls, at midnight, in every part, begin to flock in gangs, singing and going about the town with a long bundle of dried sticks, lighted in the shape of a torch, called *shig*; the men also light these *shig* torches and run into one another's houses, crying, "*ankkerver*, &c." the meaning of which is "All bad things have gone out and good ones are coming in." In peaceable times, this is the day

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that all rent, taxes, &c., are received, and that all offices and posts are changed. All chiefs shew themselves this day with their army, before their governor, as at a review ; those the governor is pleased with he promotes ; and those who have not given him satisfaction he displaces, and puts others in their stead.

The Gas Guebra Michael dismissed the sons of Bashaw Abdalla, the heads of the custom-house at Adowa, and placed Woldi Gorgis and Mohammed Kier in their stead.

18th, 19th, and 20th. I still remained at Axum, and this morning I received a letter and some eye-salve from Mr. Forbes, of Bombay ; he having been apprized that I was afflicted with a weakness in my eyes. I immediately wrote an answer, and also wrote to Mr. Salt, at Cairo, by the same opportunity.

21st. About midday the Gas Guebra Michael's servant came to Axum, with his master's decree, in which he stated, before the high-priest, that all were forgiven who had rebelled against him, and were under the protection of the churches at Axum.

22nd. Eight of us set out, and we reached the Gas's house at Adowa, just as the table was spreading for a meal. The servant told his master of our arrival, who ordered us in ; my seven

companions with large stones about their necks, and their faces to the ground, in which posture they remained for some time. The moment he saw me, he ordered me close to him, seated me on the same couch with him, and said, "Was not I your first friend? How came you to leave me for Ischias?" After I had made several excuses, he said, "The times are enough to make an angel change, much more men," and he ordered the others to take the stones from their necks, and said he had forgiven them*. Indeed I seemed a greater favourite than ever, and he himself crammed the victuals into my mouth, till I was more than satisfied. He said to me, while we were drinking, "If you had not broken first through the Fit-aurari, not a soul would have escaped."

After I had left the Gas for my lodgings, I found a servant of Agge Said, who had been to Cairo with a letter, and who informed me that his master had arrived at Massowa and had brought a box for me. I immediately wrote to Mr. Salt,

* There is something so dignified and generous in the conduct of Guebra Michael on this occasion, and so different from what might have been anticipated from the general practice of his countrymen, that one is almost disposed to regret that an abler and more warlike chief, in the person of Subegadis, was ultimately destined to obtain that eminent situation in the country, for which Guebra had so gallantly contended.—*Editor.*

and desired the man to send me back the letter which I wrote from Axum, if it had not left Massowa before he arrived. I had mentioned very strongly how unhappy I was at not having heard from Mr. Salt for so long a time.

23rd. After I had dispatched my letter to Mr. Salt and my servant to Massowa, I went to the Gas to dinner, and he received me as kindly as yesterday : indeed I became a complete Balermal. While we were eating, several messengers and spies arrived, informing the Gas that Subegadis was encamped in Arramat, the Gas Woldi Raphael at Gambela, in Enderta, Ito Barrier in Saharte, and Ito Arriah at Gibba, all intending to destroy Temben. After the Gas had heard this, he ordered his house to be cleared, and I went home, where I had not been long before I heard the town-drum beating, to order all to be ready to march to-morrow early.

24th. I went very early to the Gas's, and found him just getting upon his mule. On seeing me, he asked me if I had got my mule, which he had ordered to be returned to me, and which was taken in the late battle. I told him I had not ; he immediately ordered it to be brought and given to me in his presence. This friendly action made me eager to go with him to war ; but, before I had time to tell him so, he said, " Pearce, stop at

Adowa ; I have ordered you four *interlams* of corn " [thirty-two bushels English]. " If you go with me and I am defeated, your blood will be upon my head, and I know you love the Ras's relations. " I went with him to the camp at Seaser, where I stopped for the night.

24th. The Gas Guebra Michael had sent for the Gas Ischias, in the night, and released him from chains, upon his swearing to be true for the future. After I had accompanied the army for a short distance, on their march from Seaser, I returned, and went to pay my respects to my old master Ischias. He caught hold of me round the neck, and said, kissing me, " God dealt badly with us ; " after which I went home and the Gas Ischias went to Arder Serat. He had already collected a great body of men.

26th. I employed myself in shooting birds and skinning them.

27th. I went about the country in search of plants and birds.

28th. I remained at home.

29th. The holyday of the beauty and deeds of Abba Garimur. I went with the townspeople to meet the altar, and to accompany it to the church Kudus Michael.

30th. I went to Axum, and returned in the evening.

From October the 1st to the 5th I never stirred out of my house, owing to a great illness among the townspeople, arising from colds, which are common in these two months ; great numbers died every day, and I shammed sick, that I might not attend the cries with my neighbours.

6th. A relation of my old friend Ozoro Wolleta Raphael died, and I could not help going to her cry, though I pretended in her presence to be very ill.

7th. The *coflas* from Gondar and Walkayt arrived, at least such of them as had passed on *onquors*.

8th and 9th. I staid at home. 10th. I went to Deverer Siner, where I stayed till the 17th, shooting birds and seeking plants. I returned to Adowa in the evening, and found that the illness was much abated. In most parts of Abyssinia the people sow Indian corn and plant pumpkins round their houses, in the beginning of June. The pumpkins run and cover their huts and houses, and the Indian corn grows thick about their abodes, which I think may help to create sickness.

18th. The Gas Guebra Michael is encamped at Howzane, in Giralta ; Gas Woldi Raphael at Gambela, in Enderta ; Ito Barrier at Salora, and Subegadis at Arramat. All seem to be at a loss what to begin with.

19th. I went about the country in search of birds, though I had little success, having nothing but a pistol to shoot with, my old gun having burst.

20th, 21st, and 22nd. Employed in repairing my house, some part of which had fallen down.

23rd. I set out to go a-hunting, before day-light, but I had not got a quarter of a mile from the town, when I saw the fires of a *cofla* on the Mas-sowa road. I went to enquire for news, and happy I was to find my servant, with the box, &c., from Mr. Salt. I returned home with it, but had much ado to persuade the new custom-house officers to let it be carried to my house without paying duty. I immediately answered Mr. Salt's letter, the *coflas* from Walkayt and Gondar being ready to start.

CHAPTER XXI.

Pearce resolves to leave Abyssinia—Tringo insists on accompanying him—Their Secret Departure—They are detained on the road—Debbib—Particulars concerning Subegadis—Stratagem to save a Dinner—Altercation with Shum Hummar—Kind Reception of the Travellers by the Kaimakan of Massowa—Voyage to Jidda—Mr. Searwell—Voyage from Jidda up the Red Sea to Rabak.

Ocr. 25th. News arrived that Subegadis had plundered some villages on the Massowa road, which had put a stop to the *coflus* quitting, so I was obliged to give a man two dollars to take my letter to Massowa, and bring me back an answer from Agge Said, to whom he was to deliver it. From Adowa to Massowa and back, the usual pay of a courier is two dollars ; but they are bound to go with all speed, being generally fourteen days backward and forward. From Gondar to Massowa the pay is three dollars ; this journey takes twenty-three or twenty-four days, there and back.

Scarcely had the messenger left me a quarter of an hour, when a *negade*, who had arrived after the *cofla* by which Mr. Salt's letter came, brought me a letter from the Kaimakan of Massowa. In

this letter he informed me that he had orders from Jidda to see me safe through, and to give me all the assistance I might want to forward me to Jidda.

At first I was at a loss to know what to do, as he wrote, "If you come quickly, you will be in time for the *dow* that is to sail the 15th of the next month." At last I came to a resolution, and was determined to set out that very evening, having provisions packed up, and every thing ready for a journey, which I was on the point of making elsewhere. I immediately employed people to carry my provisions, and told them my intentions, after swearing them not to divulge them. My wife Tringo, to whom I had been married eleven years, and who was now in her native town, where her parents and friends resided, on seeing me determined to depart, began to grow serious, and asked to speak to me in some place where she could not be heard by any one else. Accordingly we went out, under a tree, where she burst into a flood of tears, and said, "If you leave me behind, I shall never be happy." I said, "How is it possible you can go? Your grandmother, brothers and sisters, &c., will never give ear to any such thing. They said, the day before yesterday, when I told you in their presence that I should take you with me,

that I only wanted to get you to Massowa and sell you." "Never mind that," said she, "I shall be happier as your slave than as my mother's child. Don't let a word be spoken, and I will manage well enough to get clear with you out of the town, unknown to any ; after which you know best yourself what to do." After we had agreed what it would be best to do to prevent our being separated, we went into our lodgings, and, making every thing ready, we sent for one Ito Dimsu, and Workey, whom I knew I could trust, and Tringo sent for her father-confessor, paid for her sins, and, making all clear with the holy father, she came with him to me ; and whatever money and articles she had, or which might be in the hands of her relations, she divided and left between her two sisters and brother, Workey, Wover, and Philippus. The old priest was to be the witness, and Workey and Dimsu were to divide the property. We had now nothing to think of but starting, without giving the least alarm to the Gusmati Guebra Michael's servants, who were near our lodgings, and would certainly have made me a prisoner.

About an hour after dark, when all our neighbours were asleep, we set out. My people, on being promised good pay at Massowa, travelled with all possible speed : even the young boy and

girl, who were servants to Tringo, would not remain quiet at home, but ran after us, and could not be persuaded to return when I insisted upon their so doing. They said, they were afraid of the wild beasts, and would return next day by daylight. Finding all my attempts to prevail on them to return in vain, I suffered them to remain with me, and, leaving the regular road, kept on to the left. About midnight we passed between the mountains Ri-ho, leaving Yaronour and Gundufta to the left.

One of my men being an excellent guide, we kept on with all possible speed, and never stopped till we came to the river Munnai; where, after resting a little, we again set out at daylight, October 26th, and in about three hours reached Kella, the regular place for the *coflas* to stop, and where they pay a duty. In the night we passed through the district Kella Sumerhe, without giving the least alarm, nor indeed did any of the country-people, who were in the fields attending to their corn, appear to notice us.

About the river Angweyer the people would not let us pass, saying, I was running away with a Christian woman and girl, to sell them at Mas-sowa, which made me quarrel with my servant, whom I had cautioned not to let us be seen, and who had promised that no notice should be taken

of us. Being so few in number, our situation now began to be dangerous ; and we were afraid lest the relations of Tringo and the Gusmati's soldiers should come up with us. We were detained till the evening, when the son of the head man of the customs was placed in charge of us for the night. I soon got into discourse with him, and, shortly after dark, I settled with him for our escape ; after I had given him what we had agreed upon, he and his men lay down and pretended to be asleep, and we left Moi Enkurquor, and travelled with all speed, through the worst of roads, thorns, and bushes, and never stopped till we were obliged, by suddenly coming into the midst of a gang of corn-cutters at Dambar Eik, who insisted upon our giving them something. We pretended that we were the Abuna's people, and got past with giving them some *martabs*, strings of blue silk, worn round the neck of Christians, and again proceeded, leaving the regular road on our left.

At day-light, October 27th, we arrived at Logo, leaving Lower Logo on our left ; here again we were obliged to make a present.

We rested a little at the river Seremai, and again set out, through the burning plain of Logo and Arver, leaving the town of Arver, formerly the residence of Baharnegash Subhart, about ten miles on our left. About three in the afternoon

we arrived at Amba Barraar, where we were obliged to pay for our water and lodgings, which as a traveller I never before experienced in Abyssinia. Here we refreshed ourselves, and extracted the thorns from our feet. From Adowa our course lay to the north-east.

28th. After about half an hour's debate with the people, who wanted to impose upon me for my lodgings, I left Amba Barraar, our feet being very sore, and my mule so tired that it could scarcely advance, when carrying Tringo only, which arose from the poor animal not having tasted any thing but a little dry straw, since we left Adowa. About midday we came to Adefuxte, where we rested, and my mule got his fill of good grass, while we baked our *berenter* and ate our dinners; after which we again set out, and, ascending a very steep mountain, we arrived, at dark, at a town called Cultuffa, where I found a friend and relation of my old friend Debbib. He behaved well, like his countrymen; that is, he gave me every thing we wanted for money. Here we heard of my friend Debbib being defeated in a battle, but, I was happy to learn, not against his credit. Debbib is in the service of Subegadis, who has given him several large districts, among which is Kantiva Carlan, which belonged to Guebra Amlac, eldest son of Kantiva

Carlan, and Solomon, son of Kantiva Zerrihannis, brother to Kantiva Carlan. Subegadis gave his daughter to Guebra Amlac, some months ago, but, on his turning treacherous and becoming a servant of the Gas Guebra Michael, Subegadis gave his districts to Debbib. Subegadis having left Debbib to watch the motions of Guebra Amlac and Solomon, while he marched close to the Temben army, Guebra Amlac attacked Debbib, who beat him and drove him, the two following days, clear out of the district; when Debbib's enemies, Kantiva Sasinas and Amdar Mariam, son of Baharnegash Subhart, came to Guebra Amlac's assistance, and the third battle took place: but, being overpowered by numbers, Debbib was obliged to fly, but greatly to his credit; as, of Guebra Amlac's division, thirty-nine were killed and forty-four wounded, and of Debbib's thirteen only killed and seven wounded. Debbib lost but seven matchlocks, though he had taken twelve from Amlac. The two foregoing days, Debbib's village was burnt. In the mean time, Angus and Woldi Michael, sons of Subegadis, had stormed the Temben camp by night, and had taken several horses and matchlocks, besides bringing nearly two hundred trophies to their father, which made the Gas Guebra Michael retreat, and Subegadis followed him to the borders

of Temben. Arriah, who was also with Subegadis*, burnt Devu, a town in the borders of Temben, on the Saharte road. We also heard that the soldiers of the Gas and Tringo's relations had pursued us to Kella, where I was detained, but they were

* This being the last time that the name of this very distinguished chieftain, now Ras of Tigré, occurs in the Journal, it may not be amiss to give some account of a man, who appears destined to effect many considerable alterations in the government and general situation of his country. At the time that my friend, Mr. Salt, visited Abyssinia, in 1809-10, Subegadis, then a young man, had begun to distinguish himself by his enterprise and ability, and had made so great an impression on the sagacious mind of Mr. Salt, that I well remember his informing me, on his return to England, that, in the event of the death of the old Ras, Subegadis was the man who would ultimately succeed him, though at that time he was of small account in the country, either from his influence or his power; but the district he commanded, though of trifling extent, was one of very difficult access, and easily defended by the small band of hardy and well disciplined mountaineers, which he had carefully collected around him, against the attacks of even very formidable numbers. Brave, intelligent, and indefatigable, he was a constant terror to the most warlike and powerful of his adversaries, and even to the Ras himself; and though somewhat stained with the cruelty and ferocity of his countrymen, he nevertheless possessed a large share of that frankness and generosity which rendered him the idol of his followers and the favourite of the multitude. Under these circumstances, and with such qualifications, he rapidly rose to notice and consequence, and, at the death of Ras Welled Selassé, he soon succeeded, in the general scramble that ensued, in raising himself to an equality with the most distinguished chieftains, and eventually triumphed over them all.

Subegadis is in stature about five feet ten inches, broad-shouldered, and his whole frame partaking of that iron-like and sinewy character, which denotes the true child of the hills, and enables him to endure, without inconvenience, the most arduous exertions, and the severest privations. He has often been known

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not informed of our having passed till the day after: so we had a whole night's start of them, and perhaps went faster than they.

October 29th. After satisfying my acquaintance, I left Cultuffa, and going, nearly in a north

to journey, on foot, through the most difficult and mountainous districts, from seventy to eighty miles in a day; and, though an indifferent horseman, he is thus enabled to elude or surprise the most formidable forces, even when assisted by a numerous cavalry. His countenance is handsome, a little inclining to the Roman; his teeth are white and regular; his hair is jet black and in profusion; and, which is very remarkable in the country, his large, expressive, and penetrating eye is of a dark grey; his complexion, as well as that of his family, is very fair for an Abyssinian, and indeed he sometimes makes it his boast that he is descended from white people, a circumstance which the great antiquity of his race renders by no means improbable.

From the nature of his career, the habits of his life had not been remarkably distinguished for morality; but, a little while before Mr. Coffin left the country, when he became settled in his government, he took a serious turn upon religious subjects, dismissed all his wives, with a handsome provision, except the daughter of Hilier Mariam, whom he had recently married, and received the sacrament, at the church in Axum, upon his promise of remaining faithful to her—observing that it was time to think seriously on such important matters. Notwithstanding this change in his sentiments, he is far from being, what is termed, priest-ridden, and he is, indeed, the only chieftain who has been able to curb effectually the insolence and cupidity of the rascally Abuna, so often mentioned in the present Journal as the great affliction and scourge of Abyssinia. The last accounts received from that country left Subegadis preparing for his march to Gondar, to establish his power in that quarter of the empire, and, as nearly all the principal chiefs in that neighbourhood are dead and their armies dispersed or without experienced leaders, it is more than probable that, before this time, he has accomplished his purpose, or perhaps placed himself on the throne.

—*Editor.*

direction, we went through the town of Hurret, and kept on till we came to Mardar, where we stopped on the river side, and baked our *berenter*, and ate our dinner while my mule took his fill of good grass. Tringo now began to be in good spirits; from the time we had left Adowa, she had scarcely eaten any thing, from her wish to lose no time in proceeding and her fear of being overtaken. I here bought a sheep, but agreed to go farther on to eat it. The people here were all preparing to go to Debbib's assistance.

We left Mardar, and in about an hour we came to Darhar, where we killed our sheep by the water side: the people who were cutting corn about us, seeing what we were doing, formed into a gang of more than fifteen, to come and take part with us; but I was determined that those hungry rascals should not devour our meat, as we had not tasted any since we left Adowa. I, therefore, had recourse to a stratagem, which fully answered my purpose. Calling Taclu, my servant, by the name of Abdalla, I ordered him to bring me a skin, which he spread before me, and, after washing myself, I put myself in a posture, like the Mussulmans, for praying, and cried out *Alla Achar!* and immediately called out, "Abdalla, make haste and wash the paunch, and cut it up." Our uninvited guests, hearing

this, said, " We are mistaken ; these are Mussulmans," and retired to their work, leaving us to eat our sheep in comfort.

We again set out, and, travelling as fast as possible in a north direction, reached Alli a little after sunset. I lodged with my acquaintance Baharnegash Kefla Isge, who gave me a sheep and milk : my hunger being satisfied before this, I wished to sleep a little; but I could not, on account of boys and girls flocking round me, to see a civet-cat, that I had brought with me purposely to give to the earl of Mountnorris*. The cold here was nearly insupportable, for my bare feet had been so burned in the hot plain of Logo, that they were much chapped.

October 30th. I left Alli very early, in the coldest weather I ever experienced. I held my shield to the side of my face the wind blew on, and my feet were so benumbed that I scarcely had any feeling in them. We descended the Taranta in about two hours, when we had as much reason to complain of heat as we had before of cold.

At Choucumpste I was met by Shum Hummar, who, although my countenance was much disfigured since he last saw me, knew me immediately, as well as his brothers. He seemed

* This is no doubt " the little animal" mentioned in Pearce's will.—*Editor*.

highly pleased, and asked me if I remembered what had happened between him and me, near the spot where we were then sitting: to which I answered, "Why should I forget it, any more than you?" He said, "You were the offender, and wanted to shoot me." I replied, "No, you were the offender, and wanted to impose upon strangers." After disputing for some time, during which he frequently hinted that I was now alone and had no fire-arms, he said, he would not allow his relations to take satisfaction as they wanted, and observed that Mr. Salt, with Baharnegash Yasous, had made a new road from Digan, which might have been very hurtful to them, if the Negades had followed their example. "You also once made a new road through the Taltal, and I assure you such doings have created you many enemies here, and if we choose to take satisfaction there is now no Ras Welled Selassé to prevent us." After touching me upon all points, I jumped up, with my back against the rock, drew my knife, and, with my shield and a well loaded pistol in my left hand, said, "Who wants satisfaction? Begin and take it;" and I assured them that nothing would please me more. Shum Hummar began to be quite calm, and said to his people, "Although this man has been almost dead with disease, he is as hotheaded as ever;

let us reason with him quietly and not bring up old quarrels." Shum Hummar begged I would sit down, to which I agreed, but, being suspicious, I sat with my back against the rocks, at a small distance, till we had sworn to forget all the past. It was now agreed that I should pass according to standing customs, which is, to take a guide thence to Massowa, for which they said I should pay ten dollars. This I swore I would not, and would give no more than one dollar, to which they at last consented. I now begged Shum Hummar to give me a guide who would take me the road to Zulla, which he pretended he could not do without my giving him better pay; however, I agreed, if he would show me the stone on the road, that he had mentioned to Mr. Salt, with an inscription, I would give him my cloth, which I then wore, worth three dollars. This I gave him, and we set out; in the evening we came to Assuba, where we stayed for the night.

November 1st. We left Assuba before daylight, and passed Tubbo and Mantar Seglar, where we stopped to eat and wash our clothes. Mantar Seglar takes its name from two large trees of that name, standing together. About three o'clock in the afternoon we left Mantar Seglar, and at dark came to Hamhammo, where we stayed for the night.

November 2nd. We filled our skins with water, and set out with a caravan of bullocks, laden with corn, from Hamazen to Zulla, for salt, which had encamped for the night close by us. Before day-light, we had entered the hot and desert plain of Zulla. The stone which Shum Hummar's man shewed me was no relic of antiquity, but merely a rough large stone, with triangles cut upon its face, apparently done by shepherds, or people of the caravans who trade for salt at Zulla, in three places almost imperceptible. I kept on in the same road, in a north-east direction, looking for remains of antiquity, but none could I find.

My guide told me, he dared not take me into the town of Zulla, without the Nayib being informed first; we therefore struck immediately through the plain to the left, nearly in a north-west direction, until we came, just at dark, to Weah, the last place for water in going to Massowa, or Arkeeks. Here I found several people of the town of Zulla, who all spoke good Tigré, and told me that there were no ancient stones in the town, but, about sixteen or seventeen years ago, they said, Nayib Eddris took away two stones, in a *gelvar* or *dow*, to Massowa, which are now lying on the point called Grar, opposite to the island of Massowa. Zulla is nearly as

large as Arkeeks, and consists of square thatched huts, like that town.

November 3rd. I left Weah very early, taking sufficient water for the day. About noon we stopped in the barren plain of Shillokee, where we had no other shelter from the sun than a tree, called *surro*, without a leaf upon it: however, we hung up a cloth and took our dinner comfortably. As soon as the day began to get a little cool, we set out, and, in about two hours, arrived at Arkeeks. Here the Nayib took my mule, according to custom, but he gave me a sheep and some victuals. I could not remain at this place for the night, but set out for Massowa, where the Turkish Kaimakan received me very kindly, and gave me two sheep, a bag of rice, and a jar of butter. I took lodgings, but scarcely had I been settled two hours, when I was seized with a fever and rheumatic pains, and Tringo was so much fatigued that she could scarcely prepare me any nourishment. However, in a few days, I began to get better, after blistering my thighs in several places; the only remedy I could find for the rheumatism. The ointment for the blisters Mr. Salt had sent me, with the medicines which he had forwarded to me last year, and very useful I found it.

Provisions being very dear, I paid off my men,

and endeavoured to obtain a passage for Jidda. The miserable inhabitants, who possessed a *dow*, although they knew that I had no money, and had heard of my misfortunes in Abyssinia, of my having been plundered and stripped naked, and notwithstanding the intreaties of the Kaimakan not to overcharge me, would not give me a passage, with Tringo and her girl, under fifty dollars; the rascals also said that my civet-cat took up as much room as a man. This made me almost determine to return again into Abyssinia, and restore Tringo to her relations. However, the Kaimakan, who is a good old man, brought these extortioners down, for passage by water, &c., to thirty dollars, which he said was twenty too much; but, as he declared he had no power in such affairs, he could do nothing in it. The money I was to borrow and pay at Jidda. I was also obliged to buy an Arab dress for myself, and for Tringo and her girl. Currum Chund, the Banian, supplied my servants in these respects.

The boat I had agreed to go in was about ten tons burthen, no deck, and but badly rigged; however, I thought it better to go in her than to wait, perhaps two months, for another opportunity, at Massowa, where provisions were very dear. The day before we went on board, Tringo's brother and several others arrived, with intent to

get her back, but to no purpose ; when they entreated her to return, she positively refused, and as we were out of Abyssinia, no force could be used: so they parted, crying and praying, after the Abyssinian custom. A very heavy shower of rain fell this day ; it filled the whole of the tanks on the island, and greatly comforted the inhabitants.

November 15th. After taking leave of the Kaimakan and the owner of my lodgings, I went on board the boat after dark ; we amounted in number, boat's-people, passengers, and slaves, to twenty-nine—five women slaves, and three boy slaves, one Mahomedan passenger, besides me, Tringo, her girl, and Agge Said, a Nockader, two captains, two pilots, and eleven boatmen.

November 16th. We got under weigh before daylight ; our course, until we got round the point that forms the harbour, was N. E. ; we afterwards bore away, the wind blowing S. E. fresh ; our course due N. along the shore, distance about four miles. About three in the afternoon we passed the islands Darbude, Harrerat, and Sheik Darbu, about three miles to the E. of us, and in the evening, just at dark, made the islands Enterussula and Defferneen. We altered our course from N. to N. N. W., to keep

clear of them. In the night our course was N. a little W., with light winds.

Towards the morning of the 17th, a light westerly wind blew from the shore; our course lay N.; about mid-day the wind was S. E., and very fresh; we changed our sail for a smaller. At sun-set, the wind still fresh and a heavy sea, we were obliged to haul upon the wind; the whole of the slaves, as well my companions, were sea-sick, and every thing disagreeable. We luckily fetched an anchorage under the lee of a reef, that ran from the shore in a N. E. direction; we came to anchorage in one fathom and a half water, very smooth, though the wind was still hard. This anchorage is formed by two reefs; the entrance is very narrow, but it is a very safe anchorage for small craft. The northernmost reef runs from the shore in a S. E. direction. The coasters have made three piles of stones on the shore, at an equal distance from each other, to be a guide to all vessels that are obliged by heavy winds to come-to. At midnight the wind abated, and the sea soon became calm. They have no other name for this place than Merser anchorage.

18th. Light winds from the S. W.; we got under weigh, and steered out between the reefs, E.; we again bore up and stood N. in the

forenoon, wind S. E. and stiff; course the same. About mid-day we made the islands of Arkeck, called Dezaner Ageeg; after getting round them we hauled to the wind, which blew about S. by E., very fresh. We changed our sail for the small one, and hauled close by the wind, but did not fetch in without a tack between the mosque and the town. I went on shore immediately, to buy some food, but I found nothing but ostrich-eggs and fish; indeed the people are all in a state of starvation themselves.

Arkeck is well known to be a miserable place; there were a great number of tame ostriches on the island belonging to the inhabitants. It pays thirty dollars per year to the Kaimakan of Suakin, as the traders from about Allangy and Sennaar sometimes bring their slaves hither instead of going to Suakin, though the duty is the same as at the latter place and Massowa, which is five dollars per head to the Kaimakan, and one and a half to the Nayib or native Sheik. A great quantity of ostrich feathers are exported from this place to Jidda.

We got under weigh at day-light, the 19th, the wind S. W. and light breeze, and stood out of Arkeck, steering N. E. by N., between the islands Ageeg and Gouban. The wind came from the S. E., our course N. N. E. A little after sun-

rise the wind blew fresh from E. by N., we hauled close to the wind, but lay no nearer than N. and by E. After we were out of sight of the low land on the coast, we passed to the windward of two small islands, called Aggrave; the northernmost has a pile of stones and coral built upon it, like a small spire, which is seen at a great distance, and long before the low sandy islands themselves appear. This was built by coasters as a beacon for them in passing a long sandy bank, that appears to be at a great distance from the point of the island on which it stands. After standing close to the wind, the whole day, course N. by E., we bore up in the evening due W., the Roban and Nockader being afraid to keep at sea all night. Just at dark we hauled upon the wind, to N. and by W., till we had got round a reef of coral rock, that runs out to a great distance from an island, called Tummorshar. We then hauled aft our sheet and lay up, close-hauled, N. by E. half E., and, getting under the lee of the reef, we came to an anchor.

Tummorshar is a small island, not more than a mile and a half in circumference; it is surrounded by reefs of coral rocks, and is a very dangerous anchorage for the smallest vessels. At the west end there is a rock as high as any part of the island: at high water it is parted, and appears

like two islands, but at low water the sand between them is dry. In the night the wind blew due N., and very fresh, the reef ahead gave us shelter, and we lay in smooth water, though the surf broke desperately over it. This island is very thickly covered with bushes, and different kinds of sea-fowl are very numerous. The people of Arkeck send goats upon it to breed, though there is no water, nor any one to look after them. The Nockader of the boat told me that the chief of Arkeck sent five she-goats and one he-goat upon this island, which in three years produced a great number, but very wild and only fit for killing. Immediately on leaving this island no land is in sight, except mountains due north, which we saw at sun-set, before we came to.

20th. Wind very strong from the N.; we bent the small sail and got under weigh to return to Arkeck, our boat not being able to stand the sea. We bore away before the wind, and went fast through the water; course S. by W. In about three hours and a half we passed the island Dezazer Arcies, about two miles to the E. of us. This island takes its name from a low point, running off the main-land, opposite to it, called Arcies. In about an hour and a half we came within sight of an island, called Ammarat, on our

starboard bow, bearing S. W. We hauled up to the eastward, with the wind a little abaft the beam, to get clear of the point of the main, called Ras Shacap; we afterwards bore away S. and by W., between the island Gouban and the main, and being in smooth water we came to an anchorage about three o'clock in the afternoon, when we hauled our boat close to the beach. Our boat, though deep in the water, only drew three feet and a half. We lay at Arkeck, until the 25th, waiting for a fair wind; on the 23rd we had a heavy shower of rain, which lasted full four hours; and on the 24th another light shower.

On the 25th, we got under weigh at sun-rise, the wind S. S. E., very cloudy. We had scarcely proceeded a mile, round the N. point of the island of Arkeck, when the wind came E., with a little rain; we bore up due W., and a little after we hauled up N. by E., under the lee of the island of Gouban; but bringing up short, or too quick, round the W. sandy point, we stuck fast upon the sand, after gathering in the sails. We were easily shoved off by three or four men. When safely anchored we placed the boat's oars athwartship, from gunwale to gunwale, and spread all the skins we had over them, determined to lie here until the rain abated. Nothing

to be bought here but ostrich eggs, and feathers for trade. We felt more comfortable here, as we caught some fish with lines.

26th. Wind S. E., our *robans* agreed to get under weigh. We steered N. until we cleared the islands, and then shaped our course N. N. E. We had several squalls and but little rain, and bent our small sail six times in the course of two hours. About half an hour afterwards, we made the islands of Enter Ussula and Bar Enter Ussula. These two islands are thus distinguished, Bar Enter Ussula being the farthest at sea, Enter Ussula being nearest the coast. Towards night it fell calm; in the night a light breeze from N. W., our course N. N. E. At sun-set it was perfect calm; about ten a light breeze from the S. E., our course the same; in the evening a calm; in the night light airs of wind from E. which kept our boat going through the water at a slow rate.

28th. Light airs, wind the same; at sunrise we saw the mountains on the Arabian coast, due E. of us, our head N. N. E. We had a light breeze from S. E. and hauled up to N. E. to get closer to the land, but, it being too late to reach an anchorage, we kept along the coast due N. We were within sight of the Gibel Souda, and Ber Shock, or Abba Shok. The latter we in-

tended for our anchorage, but, the wind dying away, we kept our head N. with light E. airs at times, though in general calm.

29th. About midday, we had a breeze from N. W. We ran along the coast until sun-set, and bore up in shore, in the midst of reefs and rocks, and came to an anchor at El Buddha, in smooth water, between the reefs, in one fathom and a half water and sandy bottom.

30th. The wind blew N. E. very fresh: we got under weigh, and, standing to the wind N. by W., until we got the town of Jidda upon our beam, we then tacked, and stood upon our larboard tack, to get close in shore. We made several tacks, and afterwards out with all our paddles, and pulled to the anchorage between the Tunkeen reefs.

I went on shore immediately, and presenting myself, my wife, and servant, to the Dola, and assuring him they were not slaves, I went to Agge Arabia Jellarni, who, after seeing my passport, received me as kindly as if I had been his own son; I cannot say that Jellarni is an Englishman, because he is not, but he has the highest regard for our nation, and gave me every thing I required; indeed he insisted on my taking more than I wanted. He bought me a pair of shoes, an article I had not worn for many years, and sent

my wife to eat with his women, to whom he gave orders to receive her with the greatest civility. Said Alli would persist for some time that my female companions were slaves, indeed many of the Taggers of Jidda tempted me to sell them. Said Alli may be a good man, as reported, but I saw nothing of it, as he held his tongue when I was required to pay a hundred dollars for the passage of three human beings, a civet-cat, and not more than three hundred-weight of provisions and baggage, to Suez.

I remained at Jidda five days. The day before I was to go on board the *canga* in which I had taken my passage, an English ship arrived, and, being eager to see my countrymen, I went to the landing-place and waited, more than three hours, before the owner, Mr. Searwell, came on shore. I first made a bow to him, and asked if he was an Englishman. He stared at me as he passed, and was quite astonished when I told him I was an Englishman; after looking at my passport, he caught hold of me by the hand and shook it. I went with him to the Dola's, and was of a little service to him as an interpreter. I afterwards went to Jellarni's with him; he then came with me to my lodgings, and, after seeing me in my Abyssinian dress, spear, shield, &c., and the articles I had, he invited me on board his ship:

I went with him, and he paid me the kindest attentions. I staid on board all night, and in the morning went on shore very early, fearing the *canga* would sail, but I was informed she was not to go till the morrow. I had not been long on shore, before Mr. Searwell came to my lodgings, but, as he did not find me within, he waited till I returned. After discoursing some time, I asked him to take a little maize, which he liked much and praised it; he seemed very fond of the horn I gave him to drink out of, and said, "If I thought it would not distress you, I would beg this horn of you." I told him he was welcome to it, and I gave him two other horns, of different animals, and went with him to the boat. He shook hands with me and bade me good by; shortly afterwards the boat came on shore, and I was surprised at that late hour to find that he had sent me half a roasted goose, half a salt hump, some biscuit, and a bottle of brandy. In the morning the boat came again at daylight, just as I was making ready to go on board; Mr. Searwell had sent me six pieces of beef in a keg, five bottles of brandy, six of rum, twelve of beer, twelve of wine, some biscuit, and two tumblers. I was sorry I could not see him again to express my gratitude, but I wrote to that effect.

December 5th. I went on board the *canga*;

she had one hundred and twenty-five pilgrims, passengers on board, of both sexes, some children. The scarcity of boats this year made it almost impossible for one half of the pilgrims to get a passage to Suez, or Cossier, owing to Ibrahim Pacha having pressed all the vessels he met with for his expedition to Loheia and Hodeide.

6th. Early in the morning we got under weigh, with two other *cangas*, a *buglar*, and a *dow*, with a light S. E. wind. Our *canga*, being the fastest sailer, soon ran out of sight of the whole except the *buglar*, our course along the shore at times winding between dangerous reefs. About four o'clock, we hauled in close to the shore, within the reefs. After taking in the sail, we hooked on to the rocks and did not let go the anchor. We had one rope hooked on to the reef ahead, and one to the reef astern: these coasters generally have ropes with large hooks made fast to them purposely to hook on to the reefs, which is thus done. As soon as a vessel has lost her way, a man jumps overboard, with the coil on his shoulder, which he throws off as he swims, and, when hooked on, the people on board haul up to the distance they think fit. This anchoring-place is called Dellamar: on the beach opposite there are about a dozen date-trees, the only things to be seen besides the sandy beach.

7th. We again got under weigh, in company with the *buglar*, wind N.: we hauled close to it, and stood to sea. After getting through many reefs, the wind blew fresher, and a cross-sea running gave the ship a great motion. The whole of the pilgrims were sea-sick; some of them were great men, from Morocco and Rhodes, but the motion of the boat made all equal. In every part, fore and aft, there was nothing but vomiting, the lower sort dropping their filthy rags, to run to the side: indeed many were naked. Although I and my companions were the only Christians among them, I defended the spot I had agreed for, and kept the wretches from intruding upon us, though they intermixed even with the great men, who had not power enough to prevent them. The wind still fresher; after getting some distance from the shore, we tacked and stood along the land, course N. N. E. wind N. E. We ran in between the long reefs, called Shutfan, and Abba Gad-Gaz, a long reef running, in a direct line, N. and S.: in the middle is a small patch of sand, dry at low water. Soon afterwards we passed between the coast and the small island Arrarmene. Towards evening we came to an anchor, between the coast and a small barren island, with many reefs, called Abba Darer; we had another small island, three miles

N. of us, called Hummo-el-mush ; in the night a light wind from the S. E.

We got under weigh at midnight, with moonlight, and stood N. N. W., until we got clear of the point and reefs called Acbar and Marla ; we then steered N., wind fresher, and ran along shore, between a number of reefs, called Denebe. About midday we passed Rabak, which is reckoned half-way from Jidda to Yambo. Rabak is a town about two miles from the coast. Good water is brought, if wanted, on camels, as well as other supplies for vessels. We had not passed Rabak half an hour, before it became calm, and, shortly afterwards, a N. wind sprung up, when our *roban* bore up for Rabak, as well as our companion the *buglar*. In going into Rabak, in deep water, between two headlands, which are about a mile from each other, our course was due N. N. E. When we came into the bay, and within the northernmost point, we put the helm alee and in sail ; before the vessel had lost her way, she shot with her stern on the sandy beach. The *buglar* did the same, within ten fathoms of us. The vessels being fastened, with their sterns on the beach, a man dropped over the bow, and carried a small graplin a little distance from us, which they hauled taut, to prevent her slipping off ; when the wind freshened : over

our stern we had two and a half fathoms water. The pilgrims from both vessels got on shore, off the bows, to air themselves, and to destroy part of the vermin that infested their garments; it was a curious sight. The people of Rabak brought several asses, laden with water, which was bought by the pilgrims; sheep, although very dear, were also bought at two dollars per head; good dates very cheap. We lay with our head due W.; the town of Rabak bore N. E. by N. about three miles distant.

Except Sheik Brude, to the westward, this is the best harbour I have seen for shipping in the Red Sea. It has numerous creeks for small vessels, and deep water for larger. At sun-set the pilgrims were all ordered on board: three hundred and seventy-three, of both sexes, were counted into the *buglar*: our small *canga*, being deeply laden with coffee, we had but one hundred and twenty-five, and, although we had scarcely room to stir, the *roban* told me that he once took three hundred from Jidda to Yambo. At high water we hauled off, and lay at anchor.*

* Throughout the whole of this voyage to Egypt, many names of places occur which I have not been able to find in any map or chart. I have, therefore, kept to Pearce's spelling, which, though probably incorrect, is very likely to give pretty accurately the sound of the words.—*Editor*.

CHAPTER XXII.

Voyage from Rabak to Suez—Arrival at Cairo—Pearce's Parting from Tringo—Voyage down the Nile—Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni—Continuation of the Voyage.

DECEMBER 9th. We left Rabak at day-light, wind S. E. and steered S. W. out of the bay ; when clear, we shaped our course N. by W., and then to the N. W. ; we passed Serreck, Couz-lanne, Carrare, Ras Wordan, and Mocket. Towards evening, we got into the midst of the numerous and dangerous reefs, very distant from the coast, called Kapt : from Ras Wordan to Ras-el-Emmar, these reefs are all called by that name. At dark, we came to an anchorage between two of them.

10th. We got under weigh, wind N. E. We lay alongshore on our starboard tacks N. N. W. About nine we were between Ras-el-Emmar and the large reef Dukkiack ; the wind falling, we made but little way. In the evening, a breeze sprung up from the N. W. We ran between the reefs, off shore, and came to an anchorage called Selegar.

11th. We got under weigh, with a light N. E. breeze, and steered alongshore N. E. by N. About ten o'clock we were between the Gib-el-Ruhunor, and a reef in the open sea called Hur. About an hour afterwards, we made the town of Yambo, the wind due N. and fresh. We were obliged to run in between the reefs and the shore, and came to an anchorage about two miles S. of the town.

12th. We sailed with a N. W. wind, and, by making two tacks, got to the windward of the reefs that lie N. from the small island Abbara. We then bore up, and ran into the harbour S. E. There were about forty vessels there, most of them under the walls; those discharging their corn lay direct under the Dola's window. We immediately landed our pilgrims who were going to Medina, and happy enough I was, for we were swarming with vermin, and no remedy for them. I went on shore first to the Dola, and then to the market and water-pools, which had just then been filled by heavy rains.

Yambo is larger than Jidda, but the most wretched place I ever saw, crowded with beggars and flies. The latter are so thick in the market upon the goods, that you can hardly discern what is under them. Mahommed being so near this place, one would imagine they would take more

pride in it ; but I believe, that not only Mahomed, but the devil himself, has given it up. The day before we sailed, a hundred and twenty filthy pilgrims came on board for Suez ; and, in the evening, the Dola sent eighteen more beggars to increase our stock. Our *roban* was almost mad, but dared not say a word for his life. At Jidda and this place the pilgrims, who have no money to pay for their passage, are sent on board by the Dola, and the captain is obliged to give them a passage and provisions ; many thousands are sent to Suez and Cosseir, and, if any of them die in the street, the Dola sends people to wash and bury them. I have seen them washing the dead in the public thoroughfare, by which every person is obliged to pass into the market-place.

18th. We got under weigh, with forty other boats, all laden with pilgrims ; wind E. We ran along the shore N. W. by N. ; in the evening we came to an anchorage called Koor.

19th. We sailed with scarcely a breath of wind, but paddled alongshore, N. W. by W. In about an hour, a light breeze off shore ; our course W. N. W. In the evening we came to an anchorage, in a small creek, close to Ras-el-Gimmum.

20th. Set sail with an east wind, course N. W. by W., about four in the morning, very dark.

The boat went about four knots an hour, and, being too hasty to alter our course, thinking ourselves clear of the reefs, about three miles from the coast or head-land, we ran fast upon the rocks. I leave it to be imagined what a scene this occasioned ; it is impossible to describe the terror of the pilgrims and some merchant passengers, the loud cries to Mahommed, and the filthy actions committed by all through fear. Not a soul offered to assist, but all kept bellowing out with all their might to Mahommed : the women were, if any thing, more courageous than the men. The *canga's* crew consisted of well disposed and able Nubians, who soon got part of the cargo of the vessel from the forepart of the stern, as she hung only by the bow ; they all got overboard to shove her off, while the *roban* was busy in driving the filthy pilgrims aft. He then bent a small sail like a stay-sail, to cant her bow off, while the crew shoved her off. He had not a creature to assist him but myself, although there were more than a hundred and fifty souls on board : in about a quarter of an hour, with hard work, we got her clear, without being bilged or damaged, and immediately up with our large sail, and hauled up clear from the reef. At day-break, the *roban*, seeing where he was, shaped his course N. N. W. While we were aground upon the rock, the *can-*

gas in company ran past without seeing us. A little after daylight the wind set in fresh from the E., and we ran fast alongshore, and soon came up with the others. The wind still freshening from the S. E., we ran alongshore North, in sight of the high islands Gib-el-Hassan and Libnar, and about three o'clock we were between Gib-el-Hassan and the main. The course which the sunken rocks obliged us to take was N. by E. and N. N. W. We hauled upon the wind, and came to an anchorage under the lee of Hassan, close to a town of neat huts, with scarcely any people, though there were more than a hundred huts. Having had no rain, the people had gone to the main for water. This is the residence of a wretched set of Arabs, who live upon fish, and, when they see vessels going past, they follow with their small boats until they are clear of the dangerous reefs near this place. When any vessel is wrecked, they take what property they can as a prize, without giving assistance to the crew and owners. At night the wind N. W., very strong, with drops of rain. We let go a second graplin, the sea rolling upon the beach with great fury astern of us.

21st. A boat came from the main at daylight with water, which we bought at a dear rate, only about fifteen gallons for a dollar. The wind being

more moderate, but N., we got under weigh, and beat off and on shore, until we weathered the small island of Massurah. About twelve o'clock the wind came N. W., and we lay alongshore N. by E.; soon after the wind veered a little westerly, and we stood N., between the four sandy islands, called El Madah, or El Maydar, and came to an anchorage between the northernmost and the land. We saw one *dow* and two *cangas* wrecked upon the reefs. Very near this there is a very large village of Arabs, who are of the same description as those of Gib-el Hassan, and before Mahommed Aly became powerful in this part, vessels were often plundered by them. Before the evening we put some of the pilgrims on shore, to pick up camels' dung for firing, for their own use.

22nd. The whole day nearly calm; we got under weigh at sun-rise, and pulled in a winding manner between the reefs, until about ten o'clock, when a light breeze sprang up, and we stood to the N. alongshore, but very slowly. About four in the afternoon, we stood in under the lee of a small island, called Woggarde, where we brought to between the reefs, by hooking the vessel to one ahead and to another astern.

23rd. We sailed at day-light with a N. E. wind, and steered along the shore N. N. W.,

within the long, low, sandy island Shabarar, and in about an hour hauled up between a narrow strait, called Sumbegar, between the islands Arler and Arfil, with large flat shoals. About two o'clock we ran N. between the islands Marrat and Rumromer; about four we hauled up to the N. E. by E., between two large shoals, with a rapid current running; and a little before sunset we were between the islands Sheik Mezrank, and the point of the main called Kur-Kurmar. On approaching Sheik Mezrank's tomb, the *roban* and crew ate hot cakes and butter, and drank coffee, in honour of the Sheik: they afterwards hailed him, which is customary, and brought to off the west point, where the tomb is situated.

On the 24th, we got under weigh at sun-rise, with a stiff easterly breeze, and ran close along-shore, course N. About nine we ran between the main and the long high rock Gib-el Merduner, and in about an hour passed between the island Raiyerkar. We passed several wrecks of vessels yesterday and this morning, mostly belonging to Mahomed Aly. Running close alongshore, till about ten o'clock, we then put into a small bay called Wegg, which is a good harbour. The Bedouins came from their camp called Gillar, with water, wood, dates, &c., for sale. Mahomed Aly has about forty soldiers here, to look after the

provisions that are landed from Cossier for the army. I went on shore, after we came to an anchor, to buy some water and wash my cloths, and afterwards went to the market, which had but a scanty supply of dates, fish, goats' and camels' flesh, milk, and a few young kids, all very dear.

25th. Wind very strong from the N.N.W.; we could not quit our situation. I went on shore, and strolled about the rocks in search of shells, but found none, there being no coral-rocks near. The wind blew a gale the whole day, but we lay sheltered very snug.

26th. We got under weigh before daylight, with a land-breeze: about nine o'clock the wind came from the north very fresh. We beat off and on shore until after dark. About ten we weathered Ras Merkar, and stood into a small bay, called Antach, where we brought to in smooth water.

27th. We got under weigh at daylight, with a land-breeze, and stood alongshore N. by W. About nine the wind came N. and freshened by degrees, and we beat off and on between a small island with dangerous reefs, called Nerbeckeger. At midday, the wind still stronger, with a heavy sea, we ran to an anchorage, sheltered by a long reef called Zerbader.

28th. We got under weigh before daylight,

with a land-breeze, our course N. W. At daylight the wind came ahead and fresh, varying from N. to N. W. We beat off and on, between the reefs and the land, until sun-set, when we ran to an anchorage in the island Gib-el Naman, about two miles from the main.

29th. The wind still hard from N. W., and we remained at our anchorage. I went on shore to wash my companions' cloths, and not before they wanted it, as they had not been changed since we left Massowa. There were three tents of Bedouin Arabs, very miserable, with their children and women, who live upon fish; they have no water but what they bring from the main.

30th. Got under weigh with a N. wind, and made Bere Sultan, where we came to an anchorage in a small creek; here is good water in four tanks, built by order, they say, of Sultan Selim; they go by the name of Bere Sultan. Not having perfectly dried a cloth yesterday on which I slept, I was taken very ill; the cold here was very severe, and I was seized with a violent bowel-complaint, which I thought would have killed me, having no medicine to take for it. My female companion began to get very uneasy, and seemed to be more alarmed than myself; she blamed me for not having more thought, asking me if I had not forgotten the weak state to which I was re-

duced in Abyssinia. "You play with your constitution as if you had never been ill. Why do you go to every place we come to, to wash? It is better to bear the vermin, until God takes us away from them, than to make ourselves ill with striving to get clear of them, which is impossible." I felt these to be the worst moments of my life; had I been alone, I should have been more comfortable. I, being but one Christian, had to take care of two females of the same faith, who could not bear to be touched even by the Mahommedans. The cold benumbed my flesh, and my complaint became very violent, in a place too very inconvenient for such a disorder, in an open boat, without shelter from sun, rain, dew, or wind, and surrounded by Mahommedans of both sexes.

January 1st, 1819. We got under weigh very early, with the wind N. We lay alongshore N.W., half W. About ten o'clock the wind came right ahead, and in a short time blew a gale with a heavy sea, when I had the pleasure of seeing the pilgrims, who had laughed at me in my troubles, heartily frightened. With great difficulty our sail was taken in, and we bent a small stay-sail, and bore up for Bere Sultan, which we soon reached; in coming to, being too slack in making fast to the rocks ahead, we were driven on those

astern, and unshipped our rudder, which fortunately was easily repaired. After we were hauled off and snugly anchored, the *roban* went on shore, and bought me a goat for a dollar and a half; the *roban* and boat's crew being the only persons that seemed concerned about me, as I had been of much use to them from the time we left Jidda. Tringo prepared me some soup and rice, which did me much good. Old Agge Said, who came with me from Massowa, made me a medicine of coffee and black pepper, boiled as thick as possible, but whether this medicine did me good, or the soup, God knows; however, I began to get better.

2nd. This morning I found myself quite recovered. The wind still from the N. W., a heavy gale, and we remained at our anchorage.

3rd. Got under weigh at daylight, wind N. W., but moderate. After beating on and off shore, till about three in the afternoon, we put into a creek called Gyberat Ras Merarrash, a very good harbour for the largest coasters, but no fresh water, nor a soul to be seen, though not far from the town of Moyleh.

4th. We got under weigh, with a light land-breeze, our course N. N. W., and passed about ten o'clock the town of Moyleh, the pleasantest I have seen on the coast, being situated close to

the water's edge, and thickly planted with date-trees. The remarkable mountain Shar, which shews three peaks, when at Bere Sultan, here appears all in one. The wind N. varying to N. W., and fresh. After making two tacks, we came to a mooring at Mergahela, about four miles north of Moeyleh.

5th. We got under weigh, after bending the small sail, with a strong N. E. wind, course N. W. About eight o'clock the wind blew very hard, and a cross sea : not a dry rag, fore or aft, till we passed the island Yerbo under our lee ; we then steered due west, and ran past the islands to windward, Berrergast, Shoushoir, and Sannarfar. The wind became moderate and soon afterwards calm, and we came to an anchor on the west end of Sannarfar. I went on shore to collect shells about the rocks, but the cold so much affected my weak constitution, that I returned with very few.

6th. We got under weigh at daylight, with a north wind and fresh ; we ran past the island Terrain, due west. About ten o'clock the wind became very moderate, and we ran into Sherome, a fine harbour, but no water ; here we came to an anchorage, and found a *dow* that had been two months from Jidda. We landed our pilgrims, to get rid of part of their vermin, which they do

in a curious manner, by spreading their garments on the beach, and, when well warmed with the sun, they trail them, as they are spread, for several yards along the flat sand, which swept them off in numbers.

7th. We got under weigh at sun-rise with a N. W. wind; our course, until we passed Ras Mahommed, was S. S. W.: we hauled to the wind, by degrees, and lowered our sail a little, the crew bawling out a prayer to Mahommed and firing what arms they had, as a salute to the Prophet, when we up sail, and hauled to the west, as close as we could. After nearing the Bur Argam, on the west coast, we tacked, and came to an anchor under the reefs of Joubart Wogarde.

8th. Fresh wind from the N. W.; we remained at anchor.

9th. We got under weigh at day-light, with a light N. E. breeze. About twelve the wind came ahead, and we anchored close to the beach, under the lee of a low point called Cardehiger.

10th. We beat up to Sheik Jar, and on the 11th, to El-Tor, where I went on shore with my companions, and stayed for the night at the house of a Greek, who treated us very kindly.

12th. We left El-Tor, and beat up to Battan; 13th, to Abbu Derver; 14th, to Lizasart; 15th,

to Abbu Zeleme, in the Barrarkat Ferroun, or the Gulph of Pharaoh.

16th. To Hammum, where I went on shore, to see the hot salt water in the rock.

17th. We got a S. E. wind, which carried us near to Gib-el Suez ; here being no anchorage we kept at sea with scarcely any wind all the night.

18th. The S. E. wind took us into Suez, at daylight, close to the house of Marlim Michael, Mr. Salt's agent ; though a Christian he did not treat us like the Kaimakan of Massowa, the Jellarni of Jidda, and Nichola of El-Tor. From this place I wrote a letter to my master, Mr. Salt, who I heard was not at Cairo, to my severe mortification. Michael procured me camels for my baggage, &c., and I left Suez with the caravan, on the 21st.

In three days we reached the Beres, about three miles from Cairo, where the caravan stopped for the night. I persuaded my camel-man to drive on, saying that I would give him *bockshis* [a compliment] being anxious to see my countrymen ; but greatly was I disappointed, on entering the city-gate, Bab-el-Musser, where I was stopped just at sun-set. The gatekeeper, seeing me in my Abyssinian dress, a long knife and pistol tied to my loins, spear and shield, stared

very much, and asked me what I was. "An Englishman," said I, at which all present laughed and said they knew Englishmen. They then asked me for my papers from Suez. I told them I had none. "Then give three dollars each for those two slaves." I said, "I have no slaves," to which they replied, "Those women are slaves," and they ordered them to be taken off the camels. I jumped off my ass, and told them to touch them if they dared; the Turk spoke very well, saying, "You may see he is an Englishman, let him pass;" but an old Greek would insist upon the money. I told him, I would give him the length of my spear before I would give him a *duhanne*. After disputing, till near dark, he got tired, and I was allowed to pass.

I inquired of every one I met the way to the English Consul's, through narrow dark lanes, some having a light and others none, my poor companion frightened to death on the camel, while I was beating it on behind. At length I met some men, in European dress; I said to one in English, "Are you a Frenchman?" to another in French, "Are you an Englishman?" but got no answer: at last I met with one who spoke French, and, after explaining myself as well as I could, he shewed me the way to get near to the Consul's house. The lane was very narrow, and

turning the corner short, the baggage and the young Abyssinian girl were swept off the camel. Here I was obliged to stop, it being quite dark. Several Italians came about me, and asked me what I was ? On bringing lamps, they stared at me : one said, " You lie, you not English. " " I am, " said I, " and, if you are a friend to them, lend me a hand to get this baggage to the Consul's. " " You very droll English, " said he, and stared, and went to the Consul's house, and brought a servant, whom I could not understand, nor he me. Indeed he stared at me more than any of the rest, and appeared to be panic-struck. At last he said, " Vous n'êtes pas Anglois ? " I replied, " Je le suis ; " he afterwards understood me a little better, and said, " There are two English gentlemen in the Consul's house, " and told me to come to them.

When I reached the gateway, they insisted upon my leaving my knife, spear, and shield, there, and, being satisfied that I was in my master's house, I left them and went in. I shewed my passport, when the one, Mr. Jowett, said immediately he saw me, " Is not your name Pearce ? " After Mr. Jowett had told the servant that I was a person belonging to Mr. Salt, he admitted me and my companions, and helped to get my things up stairs to the room which he had appointed me,

but appeared to be very shy. I lost two new drinking-horns in the street, where we were obliged to unpack the camel; he gave me a candle, and I went to look for them, but could not find them, at which he seemed to be much concerned, but I told him they were of no consequence, as every thing I had brought for Mr. Salt was safe.

We soon began to get a little better acquainted, and he made me as comfortable as possible. My mind began to be quite uneasy, not knowing how to proceed to my master; I was so much afflicted that I could not sleep. Tringo was as uneasy as myself, and more so, when I told her I was determined to leave her and go to Mr. Salt. "After bringing me through these troubles," said she, "are you going to leave me among Mahommedans? We will go together, or stay until Mr. Salt comes back." She dreaded eating what was killed or touched by the Mahommedans, and I was therefore obliged to tell her that every thing cooked and prepared in Mr. Salt's house was done by Christians. After some resistance, she consented to stop, in the care of Mr. Salt's servants, but among the women that were in the house.

I told Mr. Salt's agent that I wanted a Turkish dress, which I thought would be best for traveling in this country, and an ass to go to my mas-

ter. He told me that there were two English gentlemen going in four or five days' time, and that I had better go with them, but I said, "I do not know the gentlemen and perhaps they would not like my company." Mr. Jowett, hearing of my wish to go, came to me and offered to take me with them. Mr. Jowett, as well as Mr. Fuller, came several times to my apartment, to talk with me, and one day Mr. Jowett said to me, in the garden, "Which of us would you wish to go with, as we are going in two *cangas*. I replied, "That is at your own pleasure;" when he said, "You shall go with me, we will sail on Friday." I made a bow, thanked him, and went to Tringo, and gave her into the care of Mr. Salt's servant, assuring him that we all three belonged to Mr. Salt. I also desired him to take care of the cat, as my master would be very sorry if any thing happened to it. Soon after, Mr Jowett came again to me, and said, "Pearce, what are you in want of? Do you want any thing, do you want money?" I said, "I want nothing but health." He asked me if I could translate a chapter of the Bible, in English characters, into the Abyssinian language; I told him I could, and would do as many as he wished. I afterwards gave every thing I had brought from Abyssinia to Mr. Salt's servant, except my Journal, which I intended to take with me.

On the 30th day of Tur, which is the 6th of February, I took leave of my poor companion, who cried bitterly, and tried to persuade me to take her with me, or stop myself, or else swear, that I had not left her to eat Mahommedans' meat; upon which I called Mr. Salt's servant, and told him that we all three were Mr. Salt's servants, and that if he insisted upon her eating the Mahommedan meat, or behaved in any way unkindly to her on account of her religious customs, Mr. Salt would be very angry. The servant promised to do all he could to content her, but she seemed quite dissatisfied, and said, "God will never forgive you, if you have sold me to the Mahommedans."

After going on board the *canga* with Mr. Jowett, and disputing some time with the reis, we set sail up the river, and after dark arrived at Old Cairo, where we stopped for the night.

7th. We left Old Cairo about nine o'clock, and, after sailing, pulling, and towing, until midnight, we came to Muzguna.

The 8th. We left Muzguna, and going on as yesterday, we came to Aszarla about midnight. We left Aszarla, and after towing along the west bank till about nine o'clock, we met Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni. Mr. Jowett hailed their boat immediately, and, after both boats had hauled to the

shore, I went with Mr. Jowett on board Mr. Belzoni's boat, and, after looking at the antiquities he had on board, I returned to our *canga* by myself, not having any one to introduce me to Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni, though I greatly wished to pay my respects to her, she being the first Englishwoman I had seen for a great many years.

I had not been many minutes away from Mr. Belzoni's boat, before he heard of my being there, and, as soon as he and Mrs. Belzoni learned my name, they desired their dragoman to call me. If ever pity and compassion were shewn to a traveller, I received them on this occasion from these benevolent persons. Mrs. Belzoni was at a loss what to put before me to eat, and indeed I was so much at a loss for English, that I could neither inform her, nor express my gratitude as my heart wished. She asked me if I had any spirits for my voyage. I told her that I had a few bottles, which Mr. Salt's servant gave me. "Oh!" said she, "that will not be enough; the voyage will be long and very cold." She then drew me off from her own stock four bottles, and gave them to a servant to carry to our boat.

Both Mr. and Mrs. Belzoni discoursed with me very kindly, and shewed great pity for my sufferings in Abyssinia; and I am sure I shall never

forget the kindness of this lady. After I had done eating, and was rising to let Mr. Jowett pass, she insisted upon my not going away, but gave me figs to eat. As Mr. Jowett, however, was of the holy order, I thought it best for me to go out on his coming in, for fear of offending him : she followed me, and stood with me on the ancient stone they had brought, and promised, though she had no particular business at Mr. Salt's house, to go thither purposely to see Tringo and console her, and have something killed for her by a Christian before her face. This treatment was so different from what I had hitherto experienced from Europeans at Cairo, that I could not leave them without feeling a sincere affection for them, and wishing that my voyage could have been with beings so humane and affectionate to a fellow-traveller. They often said : " We know what it is to travel ; every one is for himself in this part of the world, but we think it our duty to help others when it is in our power."

Upon quitting them we kept towing against wind and stream till late at night, when we stopped on the east bank at Nezla.

The 10th. We left Nezla, and went to the left bank towing and pulling against stream and wind : sometimes we walked on shore through the towns and villages, purchasing what the gentlemen were

in want of; and at night, after a long walk on shore, we arrived at Benasuef.

11th. This morning I went through all parts of the town, and returned to the boat about eight o'clock. Mr. Jowett was not up, but I made the people pull off. About two P. M. it blew a gale from S. W. so that the people could not tow the boat along: we therefore stopped at Melenhujer.

12th. We left, and towing along the west bank, against wind and tide, until after dark, we stopped for the night at El Fant.

13th. Left El Fant, and dragging the boat along, arrived in the evening at Abba Girje.

14th. We left Abba Girje, and towed the boat along, while we walked through the villages of Nezleter, Barzez, and Gullo Sunhe. In the evening we passed Summulol and Gibeltur, and at day-light arrived at Maneya Abdin Kisher Bey. Here we stopped to take bread for the crew, and I had time to go into every part of the town and into the warm baths. Going through the market, an ugly, stark-naked man ran up to me, and caught me round the neck. I gave him a blow in the stomach that felled him to the ground. The people were very angry, but when they found I was not a Mahommedan, they attributed it to my ignorance, and surprised me when they told me that this man was a saint.

About four P. M. we left Maneya, and, running against the stream with a strong N. W. wind, about ten at night we ran upon a flat in the middle of the river, where we lay until morning.

16th. We sailed, and dragged along the east bank, and about nine came to Sheik Ahbardah. I went through all the ruins with Mr. Jowett, which took us about three hours. In the evening we arrived at Remermun, Mr. Brine's fabric.

17th. I went with Mr. Jowett and Mr. Fuller to see the ruins of an ancient temple not far off. We were provided with donkeys by Mr. Brine's clerk. On our return, about four P. M. we left the fabric, and with a strong N. W. wind ran up the stream nearly all night, when we stopped till day at Kossier Lamarna.

18th. With a strong north wind we ran along the mountain Abba Faider. About ten we passed the town of Mamfalut on the west bank. Having a strong and fair wind, we kept on, and in the night arrived at Souet, or Shut. Early in the morning we went to the town. On our return, we left about twelve o'clock, the wind strong N. W. and we ran up the river very fast. We passed before dark the towns Abou Feik and Unnekealer. At midnight we stopped at Gow Shirk, and in the morning I observed some men, and afterwards a great number, breaking ancient stones to make

mortar. I went on shore, and found sixteen kilns burning. The captain commanding this company of lime-burners belongs to the Pacha, and a man told me he behaved so ill to the people of the village that they had almost deserted it with their cattle, so that neither fowls, eggs, nor milk, were to be had.

20th. We left Gow, having parted company in the night with Mr. Fuller's *canga*, Mr. Jowett's sailing much better. In the evening we met a party of English gentlemen, with Mr. Bailey, sailing down close to the town of Achmim, where we stayed for the night.

21st. Leaving Achmim, we ran up with a fair wind, passed Girger about three P. M. and after dark arrived at Bellener.

22nd. Having a fair wind we reached Kasserhu Syad.

23rd. No wind, and very cloudy. A little before sunset reached Dishner, where we stopped for the night.

24th. In the afternoon reached Dendera, and went on asses to see the temple, which took us till dark. On our return we went to the town of Ginné.

25th. Left about four o'clock P. M. with a fair wind, and fetched Negarde a little after eight.

26th. Reached Gerner. It took the whole of the 27th to look at the tombs, and after dark we went to Legho.

28th. Left Legho, and at dark arrived at Esneh.

In the morning of March 2nd, we left Esneh

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APPENDIX.

No. I.

THE BUDAS.

The following story was told by a learned priest of Gojam, and he declared it to be true:—

As I was going to Gondar, to buy an ox for ploughing, I was overtaken by an acquaintance, who was a Buda, and lived near my house. As he passed me he said, "*Memerhe*, [Teacher] what are you going to market for?" "To buy a Bulla, or brown ox," said I, "to pair with one I have, the companion of which is dead; and I wish to get a good one of the same colour." He wished, he said, I might be successful, and went on fast before me. When I arrived at the market, I met with the same Buda's brother, who asked me the same question as he had done; I answered as before that I was desirous of a Bulla ox. He said that he had seen but a single good one of that colour in the market. I asked him to show it me, which he did, at the same time pretending he did not know the owner. On seeing the ox I was delighted, he being exactly like the one I had, and appearing

quite steady, though there was no mark of his having ever before had the yoke upon his neck. I bought him for fifty pieces of salt; on my road home towards evening, when among a number of people returning from market, with their cattle, my ox ran into the wood, among the bushes, where I soon lost sight of him; however I followed close after, and, searching well, found a naked man, who proved to be my neighbour, the Buda. I said to him, blowing and panting with running and fear, "Were you not my ox?"—"Your ox?" said he—"were not you my goat? The goat I bought in the market ran out of the road, and I have lost my cloth in pursuing him."—Knowing that I had been tricked, continued the priest, I said nothing, for fear he might change me into some other form, and I went quietly home, never daring to mention the circumstance in the neighbourhood.

The following story was declared to be true by more than fifty persons of Adowa.

An hyæna was shot in the leg near the river Assem, and in endeavouring to get off made towards the church Kudus Michael. Several hyænas were seen in its company when shot, and the people, running after it with spears, came up with five Budas, carrying a lame person. Some of the followers were afraid, but among them there were some gunners, who insisted upon seeing the person, and ascertaining whether they might not have killed him. As it was dark, they took them to the first house, and, by candle-light found a fresh wound in the man's leg, and the blood then running: the Budas were all naked, but no one dared to interfere in the matter, through superstition. The Budas are now said to be living in Adowa, and they have been pointed out to me; one is a clever smith of the name of Tuckeu Tubbib;

He makes good bridle-bits and knives, and has done many jobs for me. I have frequently asked him if such a report be true, to which he has answered, "It is true they say so, and they are not in the wrong for believing it." When he said this he laughed heartily.

While I lived in Adowa a curious circumstance happened. A Mussulman weaver, rather advanced in years, when sleeping at his door in the sun, with his hand at the back of his head, was seized by an hyæna, by the hand, and dragged to a considerable distance before he cried out any thing else but "*Alla arle*," [God is,] till the pain he felt, from his hand being between the jaws of the hyæna, caused him to alter his tone, and he gave three or four loud shouts, which are customary, and known by their wild shrill sound, which brought out the neighbours, who delivered him from the animal, but not before the bones of his hand were crushed. A few days after, while I was sitting with Blitingatore Woldi Gorgis, the governor of the town, this Mussulman came to lay the case before the governor. He said, "Sir, about a fortnight ago, Tuckeu Tubbib made a knife for me, for which I paid him, but he was not content, and wanted a sheep that was tied up in my house, which had been given to me by Ozoro Altash. This sheep I meant to keep till the feast of the Ramadan, and therefore refused it him. He went away in a passion, and that day week he came in the shape of an hyæna, and out of spite caught me by my right hand, which he has ruined for ever, so that I cannot work at my trade; I therefore beg you, *guilty*, [master] in the name of God, to see me righted." The governor, as well as those in company, laughed, and asked one another what they thought of the matter. Some said, "These things often happen, but what can be done? When one is killed, his brothers are left

to take revenge." The governor said, "He has taken hold of your hand out of spite, you say; and if he knows you are seeking revenge or recompense, he will catch hold of your throat next time; so you had better say no more about it." The old man went away, and when he had gone, they asked me if such supernatural beings existed in my country? I said there were none, and that my countrymen were not so weak-minded as to believe such nonsense. "No, Pearce," said they; "it is not nonsense, but real fact; there are thousands of them in our country," and they began to tell a number of similar stories.

No. II.

THE CANONIZED ASS.

An old *negade*, or Mahomedan trader, of Gondar, who had made several journeys from Gondar to Massowa, in a mercantile capacity, with the *coflas*, passed through the country of Hamazen, which the *coflas* are frequently obliged to do, when Tigré, through which lies the direct road, is in a disturbed state. He had an ass, that had made nine journeys to Massowa, and was a great favourite. This ass, being old and fatigued, died on the road, where the *cofla* had halted for the night, and the old man said to the merchants in company, "Poor Berke!" the name of the ass, "he has made nine journeys with me, and I am determined that the hyænas shall not eat him. So, brothers, help me to make a pit for him." They accordingly dug a pit, in some rocky ground at the foot of the mountain, where they were encamped, and in digging they found by accident, in breaking some stones, a spring of water which ran moderately out

from the vein of rock into which they had broken. There they buried poor Berke, and put a great pile of stones on his grave, and the old man proceeded on his journey, with the *cofla*.

Some time afterwards the shepherds of the country observed this pile of stones and a moderate spring of water, which they were certain was not there many days before; they made this known to their respective villages, and the priests visited the spot, to pass their opinion upon it. It was immediately announced that some saint had died in heaven, and had been brought down by the angels and buried there. Accordingly, the whole of the neighbouring country assembled, and built a wall round this holy water, and the priests named it Kedaner-merrit. The circumstance soon became public throughout the whole country, and the lame and the blind, and those afflicted with diseases, frequented it to wash and pray, and it acquired a great name; superstitious prejudice leading people to believe that numbers had been cured by this water, and it is held in veneration until this day.

About six years after the death of poor Berke, the old negade happened to pass that road again, and, being curious to see the grave of his ass, he walked towards the spot, where he beheld a church, and a wall round it, and a number of priests, and people afflicted with diseases. The old man stared for some time, quite amazed, and at last said to a priest, "What, in the name of God, has caused the people to build a church here in this wild place?" The priest, in reply, told the old man that it was the grave of a saint, who had sent forth water from the earth, that cured all sorts of people who prayed to him on account of their diseases. The old man called out, in great surprise, "A saint's indeed! I say it is no saint's grave, but the grave of my old ass Berke. I buried him here myself, and there are people in the *cofla*

now that can attest it." The priests, on hearing such a statement, soon comprehended that he was a Mussulman, and they all flew upon him in a fury with sticks, and much bruised him, and would no doubt have killed him if he had not been rescued by the people of the *cofla*, who immediately ran to his assistance. The old fellow, however, still insisted upon its being old Berke's grave, which so much enraged the priests, who knew they were not able to conquer the *cofla*, that they went to the Argeldam, the governor of the district, who sent and had the negade brought before him. The priests desired that punishment should be inflicted without any farther hearing: but the Argeldam was too wise to consent to this, as he had always been a friend to the *cofla*, and knew the old negade well.

The priests, on the cause being heard, said that he had mocked their saint by calling his grave that of his ass Berke. "So it is," said the old man interrupting them, "the very grave of my ass Berke." "See," said they, "he says so before your face." "And so I do," said he, "and I will prove it." "How?" said the governor. "By digging up his bones," said the negade. "You are a Mahomedan," said the priests, "and you must first become a Christian before you can enter the sacred place." "No," said the governor, "if he does not prove the fact by finding the bones, then will be the time to make a Christian of him, or to do with him as you please." The priests, thinking it impossible he could find the bones of an ass in their holy place, consented, and a guard was sent by the governor to see the excavation made.

The old man remembered the right place, and several of the attendants went to work, and soon turned up the bones, when the old negade cried out, "There is poor Berke's skull and jaws! there are my poor old servant's legs, that

never failed me up or down the mountain Taranta!" and the old man wept as if they had been part of the remains of his mother. The priests, though at first confused, after consulting, said, it was not unusual for saints and angels to appear in the form of horses, and that they could prove the fact. Some of the people insisted that the jaw-bones should be taken to the governor, but not only the Mahomedans were interdicted from touching the ass's bones, but even the lay Christians themselves, the priests alone being allowed to touch those sacred remains. To finish the affair, the old man was again taken before the governor, who told the priests, that if any three priests could be found who would take oath to their having seen a saint, or angel, in the form of a horse, he would deliver the man to them to punish him as they thought proper. This they evaded, but said that "the book of Cullumsese, or Revelations of St. John, would prove it." The Argeldam then said, "If the book proves it, it is God's word and let God punish him." After some acknowledgments to the governor and priests, such as a present of a little pepper, cloves, a bottle, or what not from the sea-coast, the negade was set free.

No. III.

THE CAMELOPARD, MONKEYS, &c.

The camelopard is a native of the northern and north-western boundaries of Abyssinia. The people of Shiré and Walkayt kill numbers, though they are very shy, and scarcely ever venture out of the thickest woods; it feeds upon the produce of trees and bushes, which causes it also to keep close to the woods; the make of this animal rendering it difficult for it to

eat off the ground without lying or squatting down. Shields and whips are made of the skin, and the long brush of wiry hair, at the end of the tail, is used as a fan, when attached to a stick, to keep the flies from the face.

The different species of monkeys, besides those already described in the Journal, are as follows:—A large one of the baboon kind, with a dark brown and sometimes reddish face, and red hinder parts: when full grown it is very large; the colour of the hair is brown, intermixed with grey. It is called *derrias*, and is very destructive in the corn-fields, especially where the poor natives have no guns.

The *focha*, or grazer, is a kind of monkey, that is most common in the Galla districts, to the south-west, and in Agow Mudda, though it is frequently found in the Kolla, or warm parts, between Samen and Walkayt. The head and back are covered with a fine, black, short hair, and the hinder parts and sides with fine white long hair; the tail is very long. The smell of this kind of monkey is not disagreeable; when taken alive, it will be for some days sulky, and will not eat. If shot dead upon a tree, it seldom falls, for its death-grasp fastens it to the bough. Great numbers of their skins come to market to make ornaments, with the addition of the skin of the lion's paw, for the shield called *gerdiser*, as well as for fans, beautiful covers for sofas, couches, &c.

The porcupine, called *cumfu*, is a very common animal, exactly the same as I have seen at the Cape of Good Hope.

The *ashcoko*, or *gay*, called the rock-rabbit, I also saw at the Cape. It is very common, but detested by the Christians, though the Mahommedans are very fond of its flesh.

There are numerous kinds of ground squirrels, called *titgay sheelat*. Ferrets and polecats of different colours are to be found near all streams and rivers.

The large wild cat, called *derdommo*, or *ackledamma*, is common; a kind of leopard-cat, called *auna arra tubre*, much larger than the common domestic cat, is a most beautiful animal. I kept three, which were caught when quite young, and for a considerable time were very familiar, except while eating, when they became the most savage creatures I ever beheld.

A small red fox, which I never met with but in Samen, is smaller than our English fox.

No. IV.

THE LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT OF
NATHANIEL PEARCE.

In the name of God, Amen. I, Nathaniel Pearce, an English born subject, and baptised in the Parish of Acton, in the County of Middlesex, but at present at Alexandria, in Egypt; being of sound mind, memory, and understanding, though weak in body, do make this my last will and testament in the manner and form following: that in case an accident of death should happen to me, I give, devise, and bequeath unto Henry Salt, Esq., His Britannick Majesty's Consul General, in Egypt, all my Journals, papers, with the exception of none, for whom those facts were originally collected, and that he may publish them in whatever form he thinks proper.

Next, to my Abyssinia girl, Cullum, in acknowledgment for her zeal towards me and my late wife, I give one fifty pounds, one twenty-five pounds, bills on Messrs. Drummond & Co. of London, and twelve pounds ten shillings due to me

in exchange of my bill with the house of Messrs. Briggs & Co. this with every article of wearing apparel, and all other articles that I possess in the world, excepting what is herein mentioned: and that there may be no claim upon her of funeral charges, &c. to prevent which, I leave forty dollars in my chest, the price of a pair of pistols which I sell (and which pistols were given me by Henry Salt, Esq.) to pay my doctor's bill and funeral expenses. If the civilized world deem this not sufficient, let my funeral consist of Arabs, but at least to be buried where Europeans in general are who die in this country: I also leave to my dear girl Cullum a translation of the Gospel of St. John in the Tigré language, for which, on delivery, she is to receive fifty dollars from the Rev. William Jowett, of Malta, with this last I give her my blessing and recommend her to said Rev. William Jowett, in whose family she may be employed, and perhaps be the means of her getting back to her native country.

I also leave a silver chain, which I kiss in memory of my late beloved wife, to my niece, Ann Smith.

My sword and pistols I leave to my friend Wurkey, in case of his arrival from Abyssinia, of which country he is a native, but if he should not appear, Henry Salt, Esq. may do with them as he thinks fit.

In case of skins or horns, which belong to me, arrive in safety from Abyssinia, I leave entirely to William John Bankes, Esq.—My large English Bible, and all the books I have, to my friend Mr. Charles Hicks, of Alexandria, in Egypt.

One scarabee and one ancient Greek seal, and which are the only antiques I have, I leave unto Peter Lee, Esq. of Alexandria, in Egypt.

The little animal, in my possession, belongs to Lord Mont-norris, to whom I beg Henry Salt, Esq. will get it conveyed.

The case also of ostrich feathers, in my possession, belongs to my brother, Joseph Pearce, of Ipswich, in the county of Suffolk, to whom I also beg Henry Salt, Esq. will convey them, that he may receive them through the Custom-House, and pay the duty himself.

And I do hereby nominate, constitute, and appoint as my executors, Henry Salt, Esq. his Britannick Majesty's Consul General in Egypt; and Peter Lee, Esq. British Consul at Alexandria: hereby revoking all former will or wills by me at any time heretofore made, and do hereby declare this to be my last will and Testament.

In witness, I the said testator have hereunto set my hand and seal, this thirty-first day of July, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty.

L. S. NATHANIEL PEARCE.

Witness,

CHARLES HICKS,

B. VERNONIS, *Testimonis.*

We, the undersigned, do hereby declare that the signature to the above will is well known to us as the hand-writing of Nathaniel Pearce.

P. LEE,

R. THURBURN.

Alexandria, Egypt,

31st July, 1820.

THE END.

LONDON:

F. SHOBERL, JUN., LONG ACRE.

